THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 161 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 17, 1945 NUMBER 20

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Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

GENERAL ARNOLD'S STRIKING FINAL REPORT ON the operations of the Army Air Forces prefaces as grisly a picture of the next air war as we have seen drawn. Unlike many a traditional military leader, General Arnold believes that a country should prepare for the next war by preparing for the next war—not the last one. And in the next war, allowing for vast improvements in aerodynamics, methods of propulsion, and electronic control, "aircraft, piloted and pilotless, will move at speeds far beyond the velocity of sound, well over seven hundred miles per hour," "small amounts of explosive materials, as in atomic bombs, will cause destruction of many square miles," and "true space ships" will range far beyond the earth's atmosphere to launch their atomic missiles at effective distances from their targets. He admits our experience in this war has shown that efficient methods of defense against bombing attacks "are most difficult to attain." He suggests that there might be some security in the dispersal of our cities and in a world-wide intelligence service which would give us some warning. The United Nations Organization might be of some help, but, on the whole, he is convinced that the only sure defense is in overwhelming air superiority and in the "maintenance of a strong peacetime military organization." It is the honest report of a brilliant professional soldier. In its way it is as competent an analysis as General Marshall's report. But, like the Marshall report, it develops its own refutation. There is no national defense against the air war Arnold describes. And the search for national security through military preparedness is an invitation to national suicide, as Professor Schlegel suggests in his article elsewhere in this issue. The only security for our nation, for our world, is international security. The sooner we get that firmly into our heads, the sooner we shall take the next important steps toward world peace.

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THE SLAUGHTER OF HAPLESS INDONESIANS AT Surabaya is the most painful example of the dangerous trend of British policy in Asia. In London sixty left-wing Labor M. P.'s have denounced the use of British troops to "restore Dutch and French imperialism in the Far East." Australian labor, with government support, has blacklisted all Dutch military supplies for Indonesia and has denounced the British Labor government for its "strikebreaking action against its brother labor movement in Australia." In deciding to back the principle of imperialist solidarity with unlimited force, instead of insisting that the Dutch authorities negotiate with the Java nationalists, Britain's Labor government has em-

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barked on seas which may wreck it. But our own government has also a responsibility which cannot be dodged by removing American tags from tanks used to crush Indonesian insurgency. In his Navy Day speech Mr. Truman declared: "We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government." [Point Four.] "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power." [Point Six.] Are these principles to be applied to Indonesia, and if not why not?

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THE DECISIVE VICTORY IN HUNGARY OF THE Smallholders' Party—it won 191 seats in Parliament while the Communists won 52 and the Social Democrats 55—has been variously interpreted as a triumph of democracy, a protest against Russian domination, and proof that Hungary has "gone right." But a consideration of the makeup of the victorious party indicates that such interpretations have only a limited validity. The Smallholders' Party is a catch-all which includes both liberal and conservative elements. It thus provides a haven not only for reactionaries of the defunct Horthy regime but for the fearful middle-of-the-roaders who wish to turn neither right nor left. Moreover it is a "safe" party for peasants who mistrust politics as "the trickery of the gentlemen" and for agricultural workers—never organized by the predominantly urban left parties—who are still convinced, in spite of the secret ballot, that their choice will somehow be known to "the authorities." Add to this the fact that all parties had agreed, before the election, to the continuance of a coalition which, we may be sure, will continue to get along with Russia, and it becomes apparent that the victory of the Smallholders' Party was something less than a clearcut indorsement of a specific "conservative" program. The cruel truth is that what Hungary needs most is food, clothing, and fuel. Presumably all parties agree upon the precedence of this "program" which cannot be carried out without the aid, and the mutual agreement, of Russia and the Western powers.

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THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN NEW YORK CITY, statistically so sweeping, actually provides little cause for encouragement for the party politicians. Although William O'Dwyer was elected Mayor by a record-breaking plurality of 685,175, the most significant feature of the balloting was the large number of voters who expressed their dissatisfaction with the party nominees either by not voting or by breaking party ranks. Both O'Dwyer and Judge Jonah Goldstein, the Republican-Liberal-Fusion nominee, finished well behind their tickets. On the other hand, Newbold Morris, running on the No Deal ticket with Mayor LaGuardia's backing, received a larger vote than the Republican, American Labor, or Liberal parties. So while Tammany is celebrating its return to office after twelve years in exile, the results in no sense demonstrated the strength of the Democratic organization. If the coalition that elected LaGuardia in the three previous elections had remained intact, the Democrats, on the basis of the votes cast, would have suffered a worse defeat than in 1941. And this despite an extremely light registration which would normally have played into Tammany's hands. Responsibility for breaking the coalition is shared by all the groups concerned, but the decision to run Judge Goldstein, a Tammany graduate, on a "Good Government" ticket is generally believed to have been dictated by Governor Dewey as part of his 1946 campaign strategy. Goldstein's miserable showing is a severe blow to Dewey's prestige and will undoubtedly reduce his chances for reelection. The voters also administered a striking rebuff to the Liberal and Fusion parties for having participated in the deal. The Liberals, who rolled up 307,000 votes for Roosevelt in 1944, polled a scant 123,000 for Goldstein despite an extravagant campaign. Goldstein's vote on the Fusion ticket was less than 9,000. Although the American Labor Party with 260,000 votes retained a larger share of its 1944 strength in supporting O'Dwyer, it made a better showing where it ran its own candidates than it did in coalition with the Democrats. Despite their compromises, the four independent parties together polled 790,000 votes, only 40,000 fewer than the Democratic total. Had they united on a strong candidate, they could have defeated both major party machines.

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ELSEWHERE THE OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS FAILED to reveal a significant national trend. The Detroit results are extremely disheartening. Richard Frankensteen, vice-president of the U. A. W., waged a vigorous campaign with the backing of the Political Action Committee against Mayor Jeffries, who has an unenviable record of inaction on labor, housing, and race issues. Running alone against the combined forces of the political machines, big business, and the "hate" groups headed by Gerald L. K. Smith, Frankensteen might have won had it not been for a spurious red scare and an anti-Negro whispering campaign instigated by his opponent. The Detroit setback was counterbalanced by the triumph of moderately progressive Democrats in Pittsburgh and Cleveland. Republicans profess to be encouraged by unexpected local victories in New Jersey, up-state New York, and Connecticut, but they conspicuously ignore the striking Democratic successes in Albany, Ithaca, and Utica and the Socialist triumph in Bridgeport. Although the upsets reveal no particular pattern, they suggest a healthy independence on the part of the voters which may turn out to be significant in 1946 or 1948.

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W. W. NORTON WAS MORE THAN A PUBLISHER OF great distinction. He was also a man whose generous liberal sympathies were expressed through a wide variety of public activities. He was a busy person, constantly preoccupied both with the demands of his firm and with his duties in the National Association of Book Publishers and, later, as chairman of the highly effective Council on Books in Wartime. But none of these commitments interfered with his devoted interest in certain liberal causes, such as the fight for a democratic Spain. As commander of the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion, he was one of the men chiefly responsible for its magnificent record. *The Nation* knew him as an interested and helpful adviser; he was, from its beginning, a member of The Nation Associates. His unexpected death last week was a grievous shock to his friends, and his loss will be felt in many widely diverse circles.

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BEGINNING ON DECEMBER 1 AND CONCLUDING with a dinner on December 3, The Nation Associates will conduct a forum to consider the most important aspects of atomic power and its control, including the pressing question of our relations with Russia. Last week we outlined the plan of the meeting and mentioned a few of the men and women who have agreed to lead the discussion. We can add this week the names of several persons whose knowledge and point of view should be particularly valuable. Among the new participants are Judge Thurman Arnold, who will talk about the relation of monopolies to the development of atomic energy; Boris Pregel, head of the Radium and Uranium Corporation of Canada, whose contribution to the bomb project was as great as that of any single person, but whose primary interest is now in the social and economic implications of the new discovery; Stuart Chase, economist and frequent contributor to *The Nation,* whose interests lie in the same direction; Jerome Frank, jurist and political philosopher; Lieutenant Cord Meyers, Jr., veteran of the war and aide to Captain Stassen at the San Francisco Conference; Lieutenant Kingman Brewster; James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the C. I. O., who will analyze labor's responsibility and stake in the control of atomic energy; and L. N. Ridenour, professor of physics at the University of Pennsylvania and chief radar adviser of General Spaatz in the ETO. The plans for the forum have aroused even wider interest than we expected; applications for admission to the sessions as well as the dinner are pouring in. The importance of this response is evident since the purpose of the forum is public education—followed by public demand for a wise policy in Washington. For this reason above all others we urge the full participation of Nation Associates and other *Nation* readers. A detailed announcement appears on page 531.

Russia and the Bomb

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

[*This editorial article is the first of three which will present the position of* The Nation *on certain aspects of the atomic-bomb issue. Next week J. King Gordon will consider the problem of international control, including the relationship of the large and small nations. Taken together these editorials will, we hope, offer a framework for discussion at the sessions of the forum to be held on December 1-3 by the Nation Associates.*]

THAT Russia should be given full information about the atomic bomb is so evident that the question no longer seems arguable. The obvious objections have been answered with devastating finality in the last few weeks by many scientists and a few public men. They have proved beyond question that not even the narrowest concept of national security will be served by secrecy. Since this is so, the longer the matter is discussed the worse for all of us, for the debate itself generates poisons out of which, if they are not soon neutralized and washed away, the next war—the Atomic War—will certainly come.

Our secrecy policy, restated only the other day by President Truman, would have been accepted without question in other circumstances. A new weapon of ordinary dimensions, according to traditional practices, is kept for the use of the country that perfects it; only in the course of actual warfare would the secret be shared even with a trusted ally. The war was over almost immediately after the bombs hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And nothing that has happened since then has increased official American or British trust in our Russian ally. What more natural, therefore, than to sit tight on the secret of the bomb, particularly in view of its unprecedented destructive power?

Natural, but futile, and therefore stupid. For the destructive power of atomic explosion is exactly what makes an attempt to monopolize it more dangerous than the bomb itself. It is not merely a new weapon. It is a weapon which gives the nation controlling it the power of life or death over any other nation. This is a situation which in its essence is intolerable. At the same time, as the nuclear scientists have patiently explained, it is a situation impossible to perpetuate. Put those two facts together in proper proportions and you have the makings of the greatest explosion on earth.

Many people, I believe, were temporarily deceived by the restraint exhibited by other nations in discussing America's monopoly on total destruction. It seemed at first as if our allies, grateful for the sudden ending of hostilities and awed by our overpowering display of energy, creative ability, and cold cash, were prepared to accept us as the appointed trustees on earth of the released power of the universe. Even Russia said not a word. But soon, very soon, the reaction began, and it has been growing steadily in many parts of the world; its most important manifestation has been a solid, total deadlock in our relations with Russia. It is that deadlock which strangled the Foreign Ministers' conference in London and kept Russia out of the meeting of the Far Eastern advisory commission in Washington. It is that deadlock which has brought Prime Minister Attlee to the White House.

But what of it?, some of the arguers may still ask. Suppose Russia doesn't like it, what then? Didn't Mr. Churchill have the answer when he said that even during the war Russia had shown little inclination to share its military secrets with its allies, and would hardly hand over the secret of the bomb today if it had it? This position might be worth considering—though at best it betrays a rather juvenile approach to a grimly adult problem—if the United States were permitted the freedom to decide which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Truman and most of our military leaders assume for purposes of debate. The scientists have ruthlessly snatched away that freedom. We can't keep the secret because every advanced nation already knows all we know about atomic energy and how to release it, and even our last reserved area, the sacred American "know-how," will be conquered soon.

This is accepted fact; neither General Marshall nor Mr. Truman would think of disputing it. What, then, do they hope to gain by hiding our technical knowledge behind barred gates and building stock-piles of hatred and suspicion abroad? What do they hope to gain by legislation creating a federal dictatorship over all atomic investigation, as well as production, and making the interchange of scientific informa-

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tion in the field of nuclear experiment impossible under threat of criminal prosecution? What is it all about, if Russia and Sweden and France, and perhaps Spain and Argentina, will be able to make bombs within the next five years?

The answer is a complex one. Chiefly, they hope to gain time. And in the time gained, they hope to do two incompatible things: first, accumulate a lot of improved atomic bombs so that we can maintain our head-start in destructive power; and, second, create some sort of international control to take charge of the situation when other nations finally get around to manufacturing bombs themselves. This sounds, perhaps, too silly to be taken seriously, but it is the only explanation so far publicly offered for our policy of secrecy. If you suggest that secrecy plus bomb-production makes difficult the achievement of that mutual trust—especially with Russia—on which any effective international control must rest, you will be fobbed off with the theme that ran through Mr. Truman's unfortunate Navy Day speech: The bomb is a sacred trust; everyone in the world believes us and knows that we will not violate that trust. The only catch is that the premise is inaccurate. How inaccurate, can be best realized if for a moment one imagines that Russia possesses the secret of the bomb and has announced in the same pious words its determination to hang on to it. Would we decide forthwith to drop our efforts to make a bomb of our own? Would we accept Russia's protestations of good will? The questions answer themselves, and demolish at the same time the position of those who hope to build a structure of international trust on a foundation of Anglo-American (though chiefly American) monopoly of atomic power.

Only one explanation of our policy would make sense. A short period of secrecy would be worth the cost if we intended to start an offensive war against Russia or if we expected Russia to attack us in the immediate future. In either case our temporary monopoly would give us an overwhelming advantage; we could destroy Russian cities and industries without fear of retaliation and quickly bring the Soviet Union to total defeat. But this, the one sensible explanation for our present policy, paradoxically makes no sense whatever. For in spite of our bluster and our camouflaged designs on strategic bases, and our shocked objections to other nations' similar designs; in spite of a few generals and Congressmen and newspaper editors who, accepting war with Russia as inevitable, argue with a sort of maniac's logic that it had best come soon while we have the upper hand; in spite of all this, the United States is not going to attack Russia. And Russia is not going to attack us, bomb or no bomb. One can be certain that no disagreements Moscow may have with any major power will be allowed to develop to the point of war as long as Russia is desperately struggling to restore its shattered economic life and rebuild its cities. The Soviet Union needs peace even more than we do.

In fact the reality is exactly the opposite and the danger a very different one. Since the chance of our being involved in war in the next two or three years is remote, the possession of the bomb-secret is a positive disadvantage and the bomb becomes a weapon aimed at ourselves. If we don't intend to use it first, we are creating suspicion without any compensating benefit. By the time other nations have made bombs of their own, the international situation may have so deteriorated as to make certain a war in which we shall be the attacked, not the attacker, and our guarded secret, our "sacred trust," will ironically have been one of the chief factors in producing the breakdown.

The position I have put here is not only supported by most liberal opinion in America; the British press, from left to right, accepts as a prerequisite to all further international action the necessity for conquering Russia's distrust by giving it the secret of the bomb. Presumably the Prime Minister will convey to the President that point of view and the various reasons for it. He must persuade Mr. Truman that those advisers are wrong who recently urged that Russia should not be let in on the secret "until the various peace settlements have been finally determined." Their insistence that the bomb gives the United States and Britain "dominance in current discussions" has been disproved by events. The contrary is the case. Only if we approach Russia with the secret (not the bomb) in one hand and our proposals in the other will the proposals be taken at their face value. At present they make a funny noise when we drop them on the conference table.

A decision to give the bomb to Russia would immediately shift to new ground the other urgent problems facing the powers. It would not solve those problems. The differences between Russia and the West are real differences; they existed long before the first bomb was dropped and they would still exist if Russia had the secret. But the bomb has intensified them and stalled efforts to solve them. Mr. Molotov opened the way to a new attempt to overcome those differences in his speech last week. He stated clearly but moderately Russia's intention to develop the bomb through its own efforts, he offered a detailed explanation of Russian policy, domestic and foreign, and he emphasized the desire of the government for close cooperation among the Big Three. "Expressions of good intentions are not enough," he said. "The Soviet Union has been and will continue to be a reliable bulwark in the defense of peace and the security of peoples, and is ready to prove this not in words but in deeds."

If Attlee and Truman want to put Molotov's promise to the test, they can easily do so. The bomb is not a bargaining counter to be used to extract from Russia concessions which would serve the national interests of Britain and the United States. It must be given freely. But in giving it, the Western powers would have a right to assure themselves and the world that Russia will accept genuine international control of atomic power and will cooperate in converting the machinery of peace to the demands of the new age. Much needs to be done to the structure of the United Nations Organization and to the rules under which it operates before it can be trusted with powers of atomic control. Russia must be ready to accept such chances, as must the Western powers themselves.

If the necessity to give Russia the secret of the bomb is self-evident, there are subsidiary questions of vast importance that require detailed consideration. Many dangers could be avoided if the conferees in Washington would settle the secrecy issue quickly and get on to those other matters. For the secret is only an obstacle; the real problems lie on the other side.

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Germany's Drifting Economy

IN TWO recent reports General Eisenhower has painted a dark picture of Germany and warned of an approaching economic crisis. Industry remains practically dead, communications are tenuous, unemployment is increasing as more men are released from prison camps, there is a tremendous lack of shelter, disease and infantile mortality are mounting, food is scarce and threatening to get scarcer, millions of refugees are drifting about the country, and the danger of disorder is growing. General Eisenhower is, moreover, describing conditions as they are in the American zone, which is probably more nearly self-sufficient than the other zones. There the normal ration level is 1,550 calories daily compared with a usually accepted minimum health standard of 2,000. In the French zone, Anne O'Hare McCormick reports on the authority of French officials, the ration is only 1,250 calories.

Malnutrition and horrible living conditions are, of course, all too common in Europe today. Up to now, at least, the Germans have probably been better off than most of the peoples they victimized. At the end of the war they had reserve stocks of food and were certainly the best-clothed people on the continent. But in western Europe, at any rate, reconstruction is beginning to move ahead and living conditions are slowly but noticeably improving. Germany, on the other hand, appears to be at an economic standstill. This year's harvest was poor and even if next year's is better the problem of getting food from the farms to urban consumers is going to prove formidable. For inflation is already so far advanced that money transactions are being abandoned for barter, and unless some industrial production is revived to provide a means of exchange for farm produce, only a thin flow will come into the market.

To a very great extent the Germans have only themselves to thank for this state of affairs. Their Nazi rulers, whom they applauded so fervently in the days when Hitler's victories were bringing in a stream of loot, deliberately left as their legacy to the world a state of anarchy in Germany. Their refusal to surrender long after they knew they were doomed, their megalomaniac attempt to provide themselves and their country with a spectacular Wagnerian curtain, these are the primary causes of the German plight.

But the Allies, who now exercise complete authority in Germany, also have their responsibilities. They are pledged not to destroy the German people and they cannot, in good conscience, adopt the *laissez faire* commandment:

> Thou shalt not kill, but need not strive
> Officiously to keep alive.

Yet unless some plans are soon adopted to restore economic life in Germany, famine and disease may begin to solve the German problem in a way that is bound to create a strong revulsion of feeling in the democracies.

There is no need to debate at this moment whether or not the Potsdam economic plan for Germany will prove adequate in the long run. The immediate necessity is to put the Potsdam directives into effect, and particularly Article 14, which declared: "During the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit." But three and a half months after Potsdam General Eisenhower reports that proposals for the establishment of five central agencies, for the administration of transport, finances, communications, foreign trade, and industry, have made no headway in the Allied Control Council. Thus no common policies have been adopted and, with the four occupation zones more or less sealed off from each other, the fragmentation of the country continues. There is little exchange of goods between the different parts of the Reich, and the nervous system of an extremely complex economy remains paralyzed. Unless steps are taken either to restore that economy on a national basis, or to begin reorganization on the assumption of permanent partition, Germany is likely to be reduced to an economic slum. The Allies may well be faced with the alternative of allowing millions to starve or providing relief on a gigantic scale.

The immediate cause of the deadlock appears to be the determination of the French, who were stupidly excluded from Potsdam, to use their veto power in the Allied Control Council to block all unification measures until the future of the Rhineland has been settled to their satisfaction. Their ultimate objective appears to be the permanent fission of Germany and they regard any steps to restore centralized administration as laying a basis for the restoration of German power once the American and British occupation forces withdraw. In any case they want to make certain that the Ruhr and Rhine industrial districts are integrated with the economy of western Europe.

Intermingled with this question is that of reparations. If the Ruhr is to be detached from the Reich, the status of its heavy industries becomes a matter for new debate. According to the Potsdam plan, only those plants essential for the maintenance of a modest standard of living in Germany are to remain; the rest are to be distributed as reparations or destroyed. Russia, already impatient at delays in determining its share of reparations, is unlikely to make concessions to France which would add potential economic strength to the western bloc it professes to fear, while reducing the amount of industrial materials available for reparations. A compromise between French and Russian views is possible if, as has been reported, Russia is willing to support internationalization of the Ruhr under four-power control. It is far from certain, however, whether the British, who are now in possession, would agree to this solution.

On the agenda of the next meeting of the Big Four—France must not be left out again—the unsettled problem of the Ruhr should be given high priority. For that is not a question within the competence of the Allied Control Council in Berlin, whose functions are confined to the implementation of the Potsdam directives. But immediate responsibility for preventing Germany from falling into a state of economic chaos does rest on the council, and it cannot allow matters to drift while the Allied foreign offices argue about long-range policies.

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I. F. Stone's first dispatch from Palestine has been delayed. We shall carry a first-hand report from him next week.

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John L.'s Monkey Wrench

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

(*Labor editor, the Washington* Post)

Washington, November 12

MIXING up the place cards of the delegates to the Labor-Management Conference, a prankster could occasion infinitely meaner fist fights by confining his seating rearrangements to the labor table than by redeploying the industry men among the union representatives. The bitter feeling of the labor delegates toward one another is the tragedy of the conference and the thing that may wreck it completely. The chance of reconciling differences between "labor" and "management" on important procedural and mechanical aids to industrial peace is vastly better than the chance of obtaining agreement on anything among the labor leaders at the conference.

While the management delegates are happy enough to watch John L. Lewis and the A. F. of L. smash the C. I. O.'s drive to commit the conference to President Truman's declaration that "wage increases are imperative," they may be pained at the prospect of the sabotage extending to the other objective. For the management men, with a few exceptions, really want better machinery for handling industrial disputes, and the great majority of the union conferees want it too. The disagreements on details and even those on the fundamentals of peace-time organizations to minimize labor conflicts are such that reasonable men could reach a compromise on them and work out some fairly satisfactory solutions. But Lewis, allied to the A. F. of L. in a sensationally chummy entente and thus controlling a majority of the labor votes at the meeting, is driven by something other than reason. His consuming hatred of Philip Murray gives him a unique and undeviating singleness of purpose.

Now, at the end of the first week, it seems probable that the Lewis–A. F. of L. coalition will smash any proposal, good, bad, or indifferent, that comes from the C. I. O. side. If this analysis is correct, it means that the opportunity of the conference for achieving one of its two major goals—the much-needed replacement of the War Labor Board with other machinery, government or bi-partite—will be destroyed.

Hopes that the conference would succeed in its other primary purpose—commitment of labor and management to the Administration policy of negotiating "substantially" higher wages without too serious a change in present price levels—were never anything to bet on, and what little prospect there was, was irretrievably lost on the first day. Management made it clear that it was utterly opposed to even a mention of the nasty subject of wages. Bill Green took the ball and ran in the same direction. Injection of the issue of wages into the conference, he said, would make its failure "a foregone conclusion." When Murray proposed the maximum objective he could possibly hope for from the conference—that it urge all management and labor to resume collective bargaining within the framework of President Truman's scarcely radical proposal that higher wages were necessary—the majority was already committed against him.

Lewis's carryings-on in this matter show that he has lost none of his skill. After a couple of days of build-up, in which he emphasized that he and the A. F. of L. were as one in all things, and in which he made Green as pathetically happy as the sissified schoolboy suddenly taken under the protective wing of the bully who has been tormenting him, Lewis had his chance to blast Murray's proposal. It came at a session of the conference's executive committee, where Murray's resolution was under consideration. Lewis played a supremely clever game. In a speech to the committee, which he agreeably recast a few hours later for the press, he denounced the resolution as "feeble" and "namby-pamby," thus taking an unassailable position in the eyes of workingmen. But at the same time he delivered what Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, described as one of the finest defenses of free enterprise he had ever heard. In one blow Lewis struck at Murray's most vulnerable point, the C. I. O.'s necessary reliance on government support, and endeared himself to the business group.

Just before the war Lewis had showed signs of taking this tack, of cuddling up to industry on the theory that he and business could understand each other, that they were cut out of the same cloth, that they were both ruggedly individualistic and could slug it out fair and aboveboard, with no dirty holds applied in the clinches by that sneak partisan the New Deal. Last week he went the whole hog on this approach. And industry is going to love it.

Get rid of government controls, Lewis urged. Let's not bargain under the limitations of the wage-price policy. "The limitations I favor are those of free enterprise and free competition. . . . We are opposed to the corporate state and its manifestations as incorporated in the C. I. O.'s resolution." President Truman says he wants to lift controls at some time, "but I'm not so sure the C. I. O. intends that."

At this point Murray's resolution is clearly lost, and the only question is how much capital he can make of the fact that half of labor and all of industry at the conference are repudiating a call to collective bargaining under the terms of Mr. Truman's national wage policy. In General Motors and United States Steel Murray has two devastating illustrations of his contention that such collective bargaining has, indeed, been rejected by management.

As for the other goal of the conference—creation of procedures and mechanics helpful in labor troubles—it is still too early to write off the session completely. Something may be worked out in committees where Lewis is not on hand to revile the C. I. O. However, Lewis won his fight to sit on the executive committee, which passes on the reports of all the working committees, and he is thus in a spot where, to use a good labor term, he can stir up a Mulligan. There are few takers for bets that he won't.

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Scientists of the World, Unite!

BY RICHARD SCHLEGEL

(*Of the research staff of the Palmer Physical Laboratory at Princeton University*)

THE application of physical science has reached a vicious climax in the atomic bomb. The ideal of offensive warfare, a weapon of total destructiveness against which there is no defense, has been realized. And we, having just emerged from a struggle to maintain reason and humanity in the world, now find that we are the generation which will determine whether or not our civilization has the wit to keep itself alive.

Two facts should be clear to all. First, that the atomic bombs used so far are of "baby" size in respect to destructive power compared with those which can be—and perhaps have been—manufactured. Second, that the industrial capacity and wealth required for manufacturing the atomic bomb can easily be overestimated. Uranium is required, but the United States has no monopoly on that—rather, the indications are that our deposits are smaller than those of many other nations. The method of manufacturing the fissionable isotope required for an atomic bomb is very simple, as a reading of the Smyth report* will tell one. To be sure, an understanding of nuclear physics is necessary, and some old-fashioned engineering must be applied to carry out the new processes. And we gather from the Smyth report that some ingenious technology is involved in the actual fashioning of the bomb. But other nations too have nuclear physicists and engineers. Since the Smyth report outlined the method of producing the required fissionable material, any group working on atomic energy now knows at least one right path. As far as physicists of other countries are concerned, perhaps there never was any secret about the fundamental processes. The only "secrets" now are probably those of detailed manufacturing techniques, and any industrial nation can be expected to work out such details for itself.

The unearthly destructiveness of the bomb and its potential availability to all nations are two components of our crisis; the third is the historical fact that nations have always periodically waged war upon one another, using the strongest weapons at hand. We cannot change the fact that men know or will know how to build the bomb. Our contemporary urban world can be saved only if there is no use of atomic energy in war. The prime question facing us today is whether or not we can save ourselves from being blown to bits.

It is becoming clear to a large part of the American public, and to many of our legislators and officials, that international control of atomic power must be achieved within the next few years, before every nation in the world with any claim to military power has its own supply of atomic explosives. The temporary military advantage which we enjoy because we have already built atomic bombs should give us strength and confidence to lead the way to such control, and—in all realism—to urge any recalcitrant nation to join the control organization. How this organization shall be formed, how it shall function, what will be the details of international inspection and control of atomic-power installations—these are problems which in the next one or two years will test the ability of the nations to meet the crisis. We are fortunate to some extent at least in that the atomic bomb came to a world which had already experienced the San Francisco conference and the formation of the United Nations Council. A hopeful new beginning had been made in world cooperation.

If the nations give up the right to use atomic power for military purposes, they to a large extent give up their right to make war. For modern war is not fought as a rough international game, within the bounds of certain rules. Rather, every conceivable resource of destruction is employed. If possession of atomic-energy weapons is the exclusive prerogative of an international authority, every nation will be inferior to the supreme military power of that authority. Thus international control of atomic energy is equivalent to the creation of an international governing body to which the individual nations have surrendered their sovereign right to make war. In effect, the international control of atomic power will bring a world authority which can enforce universal peace.

To achieve this in the next few years will be difficult indeed, but the alternative may be fearful enough to force even the least imaginative to desire the world authority. It is literally true that all other issues, domestic and international, are of small importance compared with the problem of atomic-energy control. The leaders of all nations must act with a passion for unity that transcends the fears of individual nations—must act so, that is, if any nations are to survive.

It is perhaps fortunate for the world that scientists are probably more international-minded than any other professional group. They can be expected to be on the right side in the coming critical months. Scientists are not politicians or statesmen, and we would not expect them to be responsible for the detailed organization of an international authority. But clearly scientists must serve as advisers to an atomic-energy control body and to a large extent determine its policy, since it is they who understand the possibilities and dangers of atomic power, as well as the requirements for development and manufacture. I suggest that an international scientific council be established for the purpose of advising the international control authority.

The council would consist of representatives of an organization of all scientists working on atomic energy—or perhaps eventually an organization of competent scientists generally. The elements of such an organization already exist in the United States, for the "Manhattan District" workers

* "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes." By Henry De Wolf Smyth. Princeton University Press.

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at Chicago, Oak Ridge, Columbia University, and Los Alamos have formed associations—and have also, incidentally, made a plea for international control of their product. These associations are now being drawn together into a national federation of atomic scientists which, with similar groups of men who have worked on atomic power in Canada and England, could serve as the framework of the international organization. Russian nuclear physicists and other scientists engaged in the problem would be expected to join at the earliest possible date. The goal, of course, would be for qualified scientists from all the nations to belong.

Beyond its advisory capacity, the international organization would have great power in that its members would be the guardians of the working knowledge of atomic energy. Since scientists, as I have said, have usually a more international point of view than other men, they could be relied on to develop their strongest loyalties to the welfare of mankind in general and not to be swayed by nationalistic interests. It is imperative that such a group should not take part in political and economic conflicts. If there should be a breakdown in the international political organization the scientists could withhold the use of atomic-power weapons from all nations. One can hope such a code and tradition of conduct would grow up among this group that the world could trust them to do everything possible to prevent the military use of atomic power.

It is my belief that the existence of an international scientific council such as I have described would greatly increase the confidence of the peoples of the world in the international control body, and that the declared policy of the scientists not to allow their weapons to be used in warfare would give people everywhere a sense of security. Further, the organization would have great value as a symbol and example in these days of first strivings for "one world." The actual setting up of a world scientific council would require the support of statesmen. Its formation could presumably be discussed in connection with the planning for an international atomic-power control authority. As has been pointed out, some provision must be made for an advisory body of scientists which will work with the control authority. Existing plans for a scientific office to be attached to the United Nations Organization might be utilized to some extent.

One of the most important functions of the proposed scientific organization would be to insure that laboratories and libraries remain free and open to all throughout the world. Secrecy about actual manufacturing details connected with atomic bombs might be in the interest of international security. But the May-Johnson bill now before Congress shows how far non-scientists, though well intentioned, might go in blocking fundamental scientific communication and research in order to preserve a specific manufacturing secret which they considered vital.

With the military use of atomic energy under international control, and to a degree under the guardianship of scientists themselves, we could face the "atomic age" with bright hopes.

The Scandal of the Waterfront

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

(Former editor of the City Reporter; *a special agent for the army's criminal-investigation department until a month ago)*

THE longshoremen's strike in New York, labeled in the headlines another heart-breaking defeat for 35,000 American dock workers, stands as the most promising attempt of recent years to rid the city of its waterfront scandal. The root of that scandal, an archaic system of hiring called the "shape-up," is a device, like the poll tax, which for all its simplicity has complex and far-reaching effects.

At one time the shape-up was everywhere the accepted method of longshore hiring. It dates back to the days when men carried cargo from the pier to the ship's hold. A foreman at a pier entrance at hiring time sizes up the longshoremen standing around in a wide semi-circle, chooses the huskiest, and turns the rest away. The system is bad because the shape-up takes place at all the piers at the same time, and in consequence labor supply cannot be adjusted to the demand. Moreover, the opportunities afforded for favoritism are subtle and many.

On the West Coast Harry Bridges's International Longshoremen's Union did away with this system, established a central hiring hall, rotated available jobs, and gave the longshoremen a chance to live like decent citizens. In Liverpool and most other modern ports the shape-up is a thing of the past. But in the port of New York it is still used, indefensible as it is. In New York, though machinery does the lifting, and experience and skill count for more than muscle, the hatch boss still scans the men in the shape-up and selects his workers. The chosen may work a couple of hours or well into the next day. Few jobs could be more haphazard. Scattered over the waterfront, the men are ignorant of when and where they will be needed. In war time this often meant that ships went unworked and cargoes unmoved while idle longshoremen unsuccessfully sought work a few blocks away. In normal times a surplus of labor is almost inevitable at all points.

The power of the hiring foreman is absolute. Upon his nod depends the longshoreman's bread and butter. To secure his favor the men have often kicked back to him a share of their wages, an ancient practice described by the Maritime Labor Board as extortion that men are forced to pay for the right to work. In certain locals before the war the kick-back was the expected thing, like the social-security tax. Dock workers report that the custom is reappearing.

Tribute is often exacted in more devious ways. In some parts of the port longshoremen are required to borrow

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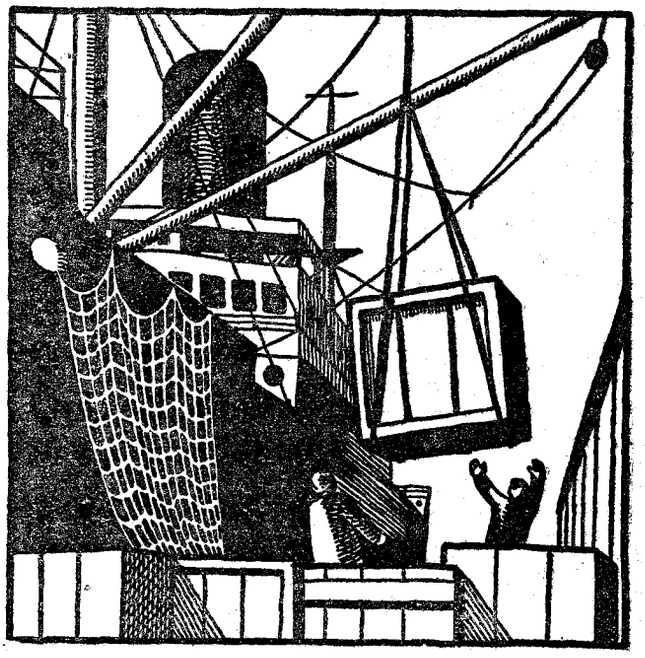
money, whether they need it or not, in order to be hired. The District Attorney's office prosecuted two loan sharks of an I. L. A. local who were making $200,000 a year in this way. A prudent longshoreman will patronize a certain barber shop, grocery, or bar, or he will gamble and lose, in order to get work. There have been cases, during hard times on the Brooklyn waterfront, of a foreman who fancied a longshoreman's wife or daughter and took the liberty known historically as the *droit de seigneur*.

The shape-up and its evils have been tolerated and even defended by the International Longshoremen's Association (A. F. of L.). Held tight in the grip of its lifetime president, Joseph P. Ryan, who receives a salary of $20,000 a year, the I. L. A. lacks the administrative hierarchy of other unions and is governed by a compact group answering directly to the president. With the locals' delegates on Joe Ryan's pay roll, the association's New York District Council is as independent of the rank and file as was ever Hitler's Reichstag. Of the forty-one locals involved in the strike several have no headquarters; no accurate membership or financial records are kept; and the initiation fee of $100 may be shaved down by bootleggers to $30. Members are expelled on Ryan's verbal order; a copy of the I. L. A. constitution is a collectors' item.

Under Ryan's rule I. L. A. locals have been invaded by racketeers with political protection. Gangsters in Brooklyn locals, unable to find employment for all members ready to pay the kick-back, have regularly sent men to Hoboken, and had them hired while New Jersey men stood helplessly in the shape-up. When the racketeers started placing their clients along the Manhattan waterfront the rank and file protested angrily to Eugene Sampson, president of their local, who said, "What do you want me to do about it? Get my head cut off by those Brooklyn mobsters?" The sums obtained by mulcting longshoremen were indicated by Assistant District Attorney Hanley when he said that "one gangster, namely Tony Romeo, alias Tony Spring, received a personal profit of from $25,000 to $50,000" from I. L. A. Local 929. Sluggers, ex-convicts, Christian Fronters have always found lucrative berths along the waterfront and won preferential positions in the I. L. A. A steady undercurrent of violence and sudden death exists, though it is rarely noticed in the newspapers—five men have been killed in the past eight years in the struggle for the plums of Local 824.

Any attempt to change conditions is stifled in this deadly atmosphere; leaders of any such attempt have been murdered. In 1939 Peter Panto led 1,200 longshoremen in a rank-and-file movement against gangster domination and the kick-back and other extortion rackets along the Brooklyn waterfront. He was threatened by Emil Camarda, a shadowy I. L. A. official who dominated six Brooklyn locals. Panto disappeared mysteriously on July 14, 1939. District Attorney William O'Dwyer intimated that Murder, Inc., was responsible and promised prosecution as soon as the body was found. Panto's body, tied with a rope and encased in lime, was found near Lyndhurst, New Jersey, on January 29, 1941. No one has ever been convicted of this crime, nor has the District Attorney's office ever satisfactorily explained its special handling of Camarda or certain angles of the investigation. The grand jury specifically referred to this case in its recent charge of



"gross laxity, inefficiency, and maladministration" in the Brooklyn District Attorney's office during Mr. O'Dwyer's incumbency. O'Dwyer's reply that he was "concentrating on murders and not kick-backs" was hardly adequate.

Before the war 76 per cent of the longshoremen, according to a survey made in 1939, earned an average weekly income of less than $25—and paid kick-back and tribute. Their hourly pay is deceptively high, for the total number of hours worked is low. The shipping industry has the longshoreman caught in an economic nutcracker. The loading companies contract to do loading by the ton but hire longshoremen by the hour. It is to the companies' interest to move as much tonnage in an hour as possible, which leads to a constant speed-up, overloading of slings, and disregard for safety. From 1928 to 1938 the speed-up increased 66 per cent for handling coffee, 200 per cent for steel pipe, 300 per cent for bananas. And of course accidents increased accordingly; one insurance expert reports that 37 cents of each pay-roll dollar goes for accidents.

A report on New York's waterfront jungle made by a Mayor's Committee in 1916 concluded as follows: "Present conditions of waterfront employment in New York mean poverty, intemperance, dependency, insanitation. We cannot measure these effects; they permeate the life of the city. They make it a less efficient and more costly traffic terminal than it might be, and reduce general prosperity. It is time this condition was ended." This was written before Murder, Inc., and the big-time racketeers had added their twist to the situation.

The strike last month was a revolt against this world and its ruler, Joe Ryan.

The first stoppage occurred on the night of October 1, when the men on six Manhattan piers refused to load nets containing more than one long ton, and shipping officials ordered them to leave. Longshoremen complained that overloaded nets, containing perhaps 7,000 pounds, sometimes broke and scattered bags of cement or sugar, causing injury or death.

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The word spread: "Don't go back to work; there's a strike on. Everybody's quitting." The news traveled by the waterfront grapevine around Manhattan, jumped the East River to Brooklyn, and crossed the bay to Staten Island, Hoboken, and Newark Bay. By October 3 the entire 250-mile waterfront was gripped by the most paralyzing strike in the history of the port.

Leaderless, without any preparation or strike call, 35,000 longshoremen quit work and tied up 300 ships. Men scattered among forty-one locals were prompted by some common inner urge to rebel. They were convinced that the new two-year contract just negotiated by Ryan was full of jokers: a forty-hour week would be worthless to those passed over in the shape-up; the vacation provision was hedged with conditions; and none of this touched their real problems. There was the feel of money in their pockets and a new spirit of independence in their hearts. "Nobody is going to ram a phony contract down our throats," they told reporters, recalling how previous contracts had been forced on the membership.

On October 4 the first Rank and File Committee was chosen at an open-lot meeting of eight Brooklyn locals. In the beginning it remained anonymous, telephoning Mayor LaGuardia that if it came forward, "Joe Ryan's goons" would beat it up. William E. Warren, a thirty-two-year-old newcomer in the I. L. A., was elected chairman largely on the basis of his ability to speak convincingly—and in English. With his previous union experience limited to paying dues, Warren was catapulted to the leadership of what the New York *Times* called "the city's most puzzling and confused maritime strike." What did the strikers want? "At first," Warren said, "everyone wanted the moon—regular wages, rest periods—but then we got down to figuring what had a chance." Their demands simmered down to a limitation of the sling load to 2,240 pounds, minimum four-hour work shifts to end the "split-shift" hiring of men for odd hours, two shape-ups daily instead of three, extra pay for working during mealtimes. "There was no talk of joining the C. I. O.," a committeeman reported; "the longshoremen simply want to have some say inside the I. L. A. The reason we didn't ask for a hiring hall is because that would make everybody think we wanted to join Bridges and the C. I. O."

The National Maritime Union watched Joe Ryan's troubles with obvious pleasure. Sailors helped the Rank and File Committee with mimeographing, advised them to hire a hall, instructed them in the fundamentals of striking. The N. M. U. contributed $2,500, and other C. I. O. maritime unions gave support. Sailors received orders to cut down steam and walk off any ship where "phony" longshoremen appeared. On the docks clashes with Ryan's men were followed by angry protest meetings in front of City Hall. Harry Bridges arrived and played a conspicuous part in the C. I. O.'s press conferences. Two years ago Joe Ryan had told an interviewer, "I'm only waiting till this war is over so we can slug it out with Harry Bridges"; it looked as if the long-awaited contest was at hand. But while C. I. O. members were vociferous on the picket line, their leaders scrupulously maintained that the longshoremen should clean their own house. "Stay in the A. F. of L. and fight for your rights," their leaflets urged.

From the first Ryan denounced the walkout as an "outlaw" strike. His henchmen called the strikers to meetings and "recommended" that they go back to work. The men showed an airy disregard for I. L. A. etiquette by ignoring the recommendation and voting to stay on strike. Realizing that confusion can be a potent weapon, Ryan announced in the press that the strike was over, but still the men didn't cross the street when the shape-up whistle blew. Ryan toured the Brooklyn docks, stronghold of the strike. In Prospect Hall he tried to address 2,500 members but was hissed from the meeting amid jeers of "No contract—no work."

On the publicity front he was more successful. Fanned by the fear that the return of soldiers was being slowed, public opinion turned against the strikers. Ryan, lashing out with long-accumulated venom, said the Communists were behind the strike. The press took their cue from him and plunged into an orgy of exposés of "C. I. O.-red" plots to capture the East Coast. Newspapers which had been shrieking that C. I. O. organization of the waterfront would be tantamount to a Soviet beachhead seized on the arrival of Harry Bridges as final proof of the "Red Move to Rule Distribution in U. S." Ryan succeeded in sidestepping any blame for the strife and became the man who was doing most to save his city from the invader. With the bulk of the press spreading his propaganda, he could afford to be patient.

On October 14 Mayor LaGuardia proposed an arbitration plan which called for a return to work and an immediate vote to determine whether Ryan or the Rank and File Committee should represent the I. L. A. in wage negotiations. The strikers accepted the plan; the shippers were non-committal. Ryan roared like an angry bull and said the Mayor's plan was "the silliest thing" he ever heard of. It was the first time a public official had questioned his right to speak for the membership. The New York A. F. of L. Council denounced the plan as "outrageous" and prepared to throw its resources behind Ryan.

The drift back to the docks began; each morning more hungry men glumly joined the shape-up. By October 16 7,000 were back. The Rank and File Committee charged that strike-breakers were being imported to pad the figures. On October 18 the Shipping Association considered the strike broken and reopened negotiations with Ryan. The next day the Rank and File Committee ordered its men to work. While the press crowed, one dejected striker said, "That's the thanks one gets! I've been fighting Ryan's gang since the last war; so now they say I'm a Communist. Will it take another war to get him out?"

As peace came to the docks, Joe Ryan surveyed his union. His victory was only on the surface. Inside, the I. L. A. was boiling. After a meeting with the shippers he presented a new contract; on October 25 only 800 out of 35,000 men had agreed to accept it. The membership had never been consulted about contracts prior to the strike and now took grim satisfaction in rejecting Ryan's best offer. They repeated that he "had better" obtain the minimum sling load and some of their other demands "or the strike might be on all over again."

The Rank and File Committee, reorganized under John Berg, a longshoreman for thirty years, Charles Anderson, and James Glasgow, went to court to prevent Ryan from

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signing any contract until longshoremen had an opportunity to vote. On October 25 Supreme Court Justice Carroll Walter issued an injunction forbidding Ryan to enter into any agreement with the shipowners. The men jubilantly distributed leaflets saying, "We have won a great victory! King Joe can't sign any phony contract with the shipowners behind our backs."

Ryan broke the strike and forced his C. I. O. rivals to retire. But the great body of longshoremen are no longer inert. Today Ryan is tied by a court order, immobilized by a membership which won't "get in line," harassed by a rank-and-file organization with connections in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. He must know that the fight is just beginning.

[*A second article by Mr. Rosenblatt will dissect Joseph P. Ryan, central figure in the waterfront conflict.*]

Terror in Bolivia

BY JOSE ANTONIO ARZE

(Head of the Bolivian Party of the Revolutionary Left; now a political exile)

Santiago, Chile, October 22

THE terror in Bolivia is as great as in Argentina, but it has failed to arouse equal indignation in the United States because less is known about it. The newspapers have only occasionally referred to some of the more blatantly repressive measures, such as censorship of the press, the castor-oil treatment of political prisoners, political murders and kidnapings, and imprisonment in regions so unhealthy that the victims sicken and die. The persecution of democratic elements reached a climax in November, 1944, when a number of outstanding civilians and army officers were beaten to death at police headquarters in La Paz and two anti-fascist senators, Luis Calvo and Felix Capriles, were assassinated. The remaining members of the opposition in Congress then fled for their lives to neighboring countries.

Three months ago President Villarroel decreed a general amnesty. A few days later he induced the Argentine government to send a number of Bolivian exiles in Buenos Aires to distant Argentine provinces, where they are still being held. Farrell has admitted that this action was taken at Villarroel's request. Opposition deputies who wished to return to Bolivia from Chile were refused passports by the Bolivian consul, on instructions, he said, from La Paz. When Dr. Walter Alvarado, a member of the *Partido de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (P. I. R.), accepted the amnesty as genuine and returned to La Paz from Santiago, he was jailed immediately. Among some forty Bolivians sent to dread Coati Island on Lake Titicaca are Dr. Demetrio Canelas, editor of the Daily *Los Tiempos* and former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Professor Faustino Suarez, of the American Institute of La Paz; and Alberto Crespo and Mario Cornejo, prominent journalists.

On August 30 the International League for the Rights of Man sent a cable of inquiry to President Villarroel giving the names of many persons reported to be held in prison without trial and requesting an explanation. It said in part: "We assume, Mr. President, that since your government operates under the Bolivian constitution, which guarantees political freedom, since you yourself have twice decreed political amnesty, and since Bolivia is one of the signatories of the Act of Chapultepec and the United Nations Charter guaranteeing human rights, you will agree that the public of the United States and other democratic countries concerned with the maintenance of such rights is entitled to an accurate and frank statement on a matter properly of international interest." On September 17 Villarroel's secretary cabled the League: ". . . Your information from the Chilean press is completely false. I suggest that you seek information from more reliable sources." Actually the league's charges, as was pointed out by John D. Pearmain, its director, were based on reliable information from democratic elements inside Bolivia and from exiled Bolivians in Latin America and the United States.

FAILURE OF THE REGIME'S ECONOMIC POLICIES

Before the present regime achieved power it noisily promised to take energetic action against foreign imperialism and to improve the living conditions of the workers. But after two years the power of foreign capital is greater than ever, and there is evidence that Villarroel and his Finance Minister, Paz Estenssoro, have agreed to keep their hands off large enterprises as long as the owners abstain from political activity. The cost of living has steadily increased. With the 1930 figure taken as 100, the index was 700 in October, 1940, the last date for which statistics are available. No ceiling prices have been set, and no effort has been made to control the steadily increasing inflation. Nearly 50 per cent of the national budget is absorbed by the army and a small number of top officials. Graft has reached an all-time high.

Mining and agriculture are controlled by the same small group of owners as before December, 1943. The government has not fulfilled its demagogic promise to put them under national control. All that it has done is to disorganize them completely, to the special detriment of the small and medium mine-owners and farmers. The Bolivian economy rests largely on tin production, which accounts for about 80 per cent of the dollar value of the country's total exports. In January, 1943, on the recommendation of the United States Bohan mission, a Bolivian Development Corporation was established, with funds provided by the Export-Import Bank and the Bolivian government. Its purpose was to improve agriculture, roads, industries, and the like in order to counteract the distress bound to result from the devaluation of mineral products, a process that has already begun. To head this organization the government appointed an army officer completely lacking in the knowledge and experience necessary for directing the country's economic reconstruction.

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Indians make up about two-thirds of Bolivia's total population and are a terribly depressed group. The regime claims that it is seeking a solution for this problem, and this year sponsored an Indian Congress at La Paz. But when certain Indians, mistakenly believing that the government truly wished to emancipate them from feudal bondage, started a campaign against landlord abuses they were persecuted as "Communists."

AN ANTI-LABOR FASCIST STATE

Since the day it took power the present Bolivian dictatorship has tried to create a corporative labor movement in the Argentine style. It has utilized the services of police agents disguised as labor leaders and has bitterly attacked the Bolivian Labor Union, an affiliate of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C. T. A. L.). Several months ago the government suddenly changed its tactics and decided it would be expedient to seem to make concessions to the C. T. A. L. As a result Bolivia was represented at the Paris labor conference by two delegates belonging to the fascist Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (M. N. R.).

While Villarroel was making these dubious concessions to the C. T. A. L., the record reveals that in the past eighteen months many members of the Bolivian Labor Union, including former Minister Waldo Alvarez, Donato Flores Gironda, Aurelio Alcoba, and Paco Careaga, have been subjected to the infamous castor-oil treatment or imprisoned in pestilential Coati. Germán Reinaga, an ardent Bolivian democrat, died this year as a result of the terrible conditions in his place of confinement.

The Argentine Group of United Officers (G. O. U.) financed the military coup that brought the Villarroel dictatorship to power. This was disclosed by the United States State Department in February, 1944. Relations between the Argentine government and its Bolivian satellite have continued to be extremely cordial. The Argentine government has agreed to invest 100,000,000 Argentine pesos in Bolivian railway projects and 15,000,000 pesos in the Bolivian oil industry. Strengthening the economic bonds between the two governments is the identity of political purpose—the maintenance of a totalitarian dictatorship.

Logically enough, Spain and Argentina recognized the Villarroel government a few days after the December, 1943, coup. Most foreign countries, however, at first declared a diplomatic quarantine against it. Villarroel, aware that he must obtain their approval, was quick to issue pro-United Nations statements, but he never implemented them.

The United States recognized the Villarroel regime in June, 1944, largely as the result of a report submitted by Avra Warren, who had been sent to Bolivia as a one-man investigating commission. Warren stated that Villarroel had promised to expel the leaders of the M. N. R.; and the M. N. R. Cabinet ministers were, in fact, advised to resign. But the minute recognition was granted, they were recalled. Moreover, in December, 1944, Paz Estenssoro, Minister of Finance and founder and leader of the M. N. R., represented Bolivia at the Mexico City conference. Carlos Montenegro, who has never concealed his admiration for the Nazis, was given an embassy post in Mexico City. Augusto Céspedes, editor of the M. N. R.'s official organ, the anti-Semitic *La Calle*, was given a similar post in Paraguay. José Escobar, La Paz chief of police during the November massacres and largely responsible for them, was sent to Washington in May, 1945, as a member of the Bolivian Military Purchasing Commission and is still there. Members of the M. N. R. were delegates to the San Francisco conference. The admission of the Argentine delegates aroused heated discussion, but the Bolivian delegates, representing an equally illegal regime, were seated without argument.

MR. WARREN'S MISTAKE

United States recognition of the fascist Bolivian regime alone has enabled Villarroel to survive. It was granted after Mr. Warren, unable to penetrate beneath the regime's façade, failed to interpret the Bolivian situation correctly to the State Department. He had every opportunity to find out the truth. In a conversation in La Paz in May, 1944, a month before recognition was granted and while he was examining the situation, I gave him the relevant facts. In the preceding January, I told him, the P. I. R. had vainly attempted to induce Villarroel to include some P. I. R. members in the government and to adopt an anti-fascist program. Early in March the government began to persecute the P. I. R. leaders. Many, including myself, were seized and kept on Coati Island during the month of March. Government repression of democratic elements was going on at the very moment of our talk; I had just received a report from a physician who had treated several persons in a deplorable condition from the castor oil they had been forced to take at the headquarters of the Calama regiment.

The government's claims of labor support were, I assured Warren, entirely false. The only "labor leaders" backing the government were disreputable police agents. under such conditions, I said, the P. I. R. felt obliged to continue in the opposition and to organize an anti-fascist front in conjunction with other democratic parties.

General elections had been scheduled for July, and I suggested that it would be advisable to withhold recognition until shortly afterward. Democratic countries should grant recognition only to a Bolivian government chosen in genuinely free elections.

Mr. Warren said nothing. But since I knew that his mission was extremely delicate, his silence did not disturb me. The following month *La Razon*, a daily published in La Paz, carried a summary of Mr. Warren's report to the State Department. It contained a number of astonishing statements: for example, that both the P. I. R. and the labor unions support Villarroel's government; that Villarroel would become President with or without elections; that the M. N. R. members of the Cabinet were to be expelled. Immediate recognition of the Nazi-Fascist Villarroel government was granted, with great lack of foresight on the part of the State Department, two days before the July 2 "elections." As a result Villarroel's position was enormously strengthened.

THE ANTI-FASCIST COALITION

Within Bolivia the anti-fascist opposition is waging unremitting war against the dictatorship. The P. I. R., founded in July, 1940, as a Marxist party with no international affiliations, was the moving force behind the coalition of anti-fascist parties formed in May, 1944, and known as the Bolivian Democratic Union (U. D. B.). Co-founders of the coali-

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tion with the P. I. R. were the Genuine Republican Party, the Socialist Republican Party, and the Socialist Party. A representative of the Liberal Party has recently joined. The five-point program of the U. D. B. calls for: (1) the eradication of Nazi-fascism and complete solidarity with the United Nations; (2) the restoration of the constitution and genuine political freedom; (3) full protection for the working classes and free trade-union activity; (4) an immediate and practical program to reduce the cost of living; (5) organization of a Board of Planned Economy that will place national resources at the service of the country.

The U. D. B., like the Argentine *Patria Libre,* has an underground movement which is carrying on the struggle despite all repression and espionage. The exiled committees and the underground organization are working together for a peaceful restoration of democratic liberties. We do not want a putsch; we do not want civil war. We want a peaceful transition to democratic government. If the United States, which is so generously giving moral support to democratic elements in Argentina, would extend that same moral help to the people of Bolivia, the cause of democracy would be immeasurably strengthened in Perón's puppet state.

Fair Play for the Nisei

BY LEONARD BLOOM

(*Assistant professor of sociology, University of California, Los Angeles*)

THE War Relocation Authority is committing suicide. And though it is a leading candidate for the title of America's most unpopular war-time agency, its announced intention of putting an end to its existence is causing deep concern to persons who want justice for Americans of Japanese ancestry.

The WRA has performed onerous and difficult tasks for three and a half years. It was born of the correct assumption that the army got into the wrong business when it evacuated a segment of our population on the smallest of pretexts: there was no historical justification for the initial act and no precedent except in fascist states for the administrative procedure that was developed. The agency was staffed by a confused and varied personnel—sincere and able individuals who wanted to see the best made of a bad situation, faithful routine government workers, and some out-and-out racists who looked upon the evacuees as criminals in a prison.

But by and large the WRA has gained the strong support of fair-minded Americans. On the West Coast especially people have felt that it was trying honestly to protect the interests of the evacuees. Attempts of groups who had engineered the evacuation to establish military control of the camps were strongly opposed. Attacks on the agency by Dies, Rankin, and company gained it supporters. The general feeling was that about the only way to help the evacuees was to help the WRA. Thus its efforts to relocate the population of the camps and restore them to normal life in the American community received vigorous backing from various organizations of citizens who recognized the evacuation for the tragic event and the ugly precedent it was. When belatedly the restraining orders were lifted and general resettlement on the Coast became possible, these organizations and many anonymous individuals worked hard to find jobs and houses for the "returnees."

On July 13 the WRA, always under diverse pressures, declared that it would liquidate its centers at intervals between October 15 and December 15. No adequate survey had been made of housing conditions or of jobs, but the camps were to close on schedule, like a military operation: the directives are disconcertingly reminiscent of the days of evacuation. What if the residents of the center are not ready on the closing date, if their plans are not complete, or if they are unable to obtain housing? The WRA says they have had time enough to get ready. If they don't know where they want to go, they will be sent back where they came from. If they are penniless, they need not worry; the WRA supplies a train ticket and $25, and their home communities must provide relief.

By the middle of 1944 about 30,000 persons, most of them young and resourceful American citizens or financially secure persons, had moved out of the camps to new locations, chiefly in the Middle West. More than 62,000, including 17,000 at the Tule Lake segregation center, remained in camp. By September 1, 1945, the total camp population had been reduced to 49,000, and in an article in the *Progressive* of September 24, Dillon Myer, head of the WRA, indicated that the departure rate from camps was 1,100 per week. This meant that the rate of removal that had been achieved under great pressure was not yet sufficient to meet the closing dates.

Many things have happened since the spring of 1942 which are simply ignored in the WRA's plans. When the Japanese Americans left their homes, most of their businesses, properties, crops, and work opportunities were liquidated at a loss that has not yet been measured but must amount to several hundred million dollars. The sections where they formerly lived have been filled up by war workers, many of whom belong also to minority groups. For example, in Los Angeles, which is probably the crucial area of adjustment, the Negro population has more than doubled, and the districts available for racial minorities have, if anything, been constricted. Some sections which formerly contained large numbers of Japanese Americans, such as Terminal Island with its pre-war colony of 3,000, have been taken for military installations or war plants. In short, the WRA is not sending back the evacuees to pre-war conditions but to communities badly disorganized by the war.

The housing situation has not improved since the end of the war, and the number of jobs has of course declined. The several thousand Japanese Americans who thus far have come to the Coast are housed in substandard "temporary"

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quarters. The few residential properties still owned by Japanese Americans have already been reoccupied. It has just been learned that the WRA is planning to house 3,500 returning evacuees in barracks in the Los Angeles area. These barracks would have all the disadvantages of camp life and none of the amenities of the present camps, which have been made livable and functioning communities by the hard work of the inmates. The barracks would not be easily accessible to transportation or to schools, and health facilities would be grossly inadequate. There is no evidence that the county school and health officers were even consulted in the matter. As a crowning indignity the financial costs of maintenance would have to be borne by the returned persons or, if they were indigent, by the county.*

Responsible people on the Coast want to see the Japanese Americans return and justice done. Conscious of the guilt of the region, they want to see a plan set up that will have a chance to work. Such a plan, they believe, must include the following provisions:

1. Extension of the life of the WRA, with at least four centers remaining in operation, until resettlement can be conducted on a reasonably individualized, planned basis.

2. The eventual establishment of a separate center, preferably at Manzanar, for indigent old persons. Such segregation may have the appearance of cruelty, but by relieving younger Japanese Americans of the burden of aged dependents it would greatly facilitate their economic reestablishment.

3. Adequate financial aid; this can be justified on the ground that the evacuees were paid at the exploitative rate of $12 to $19 a month for full-time work.

4. Planned resettlement on the West Coast to be regarded as a regional task and to include the provision of housing, jobs, and other facilities. At least 1,200 public housing units should be built in Los Angeles alone. In no case should these units be in large segregated blocks, for such a system would foster racial prejudice and obscure the fact that the difficulties confronting Japanese Americans are simply a badly aggravated form of the difficulties confronting all minorities. As a general rule, Japanese Americans should be distributed among the housing projects so that they do not form more than 15 per cent of any project's population. If segregation should be permitted, one of the few desirable by-products of the evacuation, the destruction of "Little Tokyos," would be lost.

To salve the conscience of America resettlement must be successful, and this requires a full mobilization of governmental and community agencies. Japanese Americans must be urged to resettle, and resettlement must be made feasible. To thrust unready persons into communities ill-prepared to receive them will simply cause more needless suffering.

In his article in the *Progressive* Mr. Myer said that if it were not "planning to close the centers on successive dates between October 15 and December 15, the WRA now would be living in a nightmare of plans to house thousands of American citizens and aliens at government expense for a long time." The WRA may not be having a nightmare, but it is giving one to many Americans of Japanese and other kinds of ancestry.

* As proof is read, the closing of some centers and the establishment of barracks housing have become *faits accomplis*. This has aroused strenuous public opposition.

In the Wind

MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS take note: "Equality is the arch-foe of liberty. Equality cuts down the peak and summit of ambition to the valley of the commonplace," Sidney Samuels, Fort Worth attorney, told the Waco, Texas, Junior Chamber of Commerce on November 1. The Waco *News-Tribune* reported his address thus: "Asserting that not only the governments of Europe but also our own government are endeavoring to proclaim the unworkable hypothesis that all men are created equal, Samuels told the Jaycees that in adopting this doctrine the governments are trying to drag genius to the masses. 'This doctrine is none other than the doctrine of socialism,' he said. Tracing the history of socialism, Samuels said that it had its roots in the establishment of the Plymouth colony in America."

ECONOMICS: "California olive-crop pressure groups," said the *Wall Street Journal* of November 5, "have both barrels trained on the OPA for more immediate relief. They're aiming for at least a 10 per cent increase in wholesale prices, which would shoot retail prices up about 20 to 25 per cent. One packer frankly admits the situation has its funny side. 'Here on one side,' he said, 'we're trying to convince the OPA that olives are specialty luxury items, and a price increase wouldn't raise the cost of living or affect many people. But then we turn around to persuade the public that olives are a necessary everyday food item and not just an extra luxury or a decorative relish.'"

HERESY: W. H. Gerhauser, president of the American Ship Building Company, told a recent meeting of the American Merchant Marine Conference in New York that government shipbuilding should supplement private work in peace time, in order to keep the private yards going.

SOCIETY NOTE: White and Negro guests were entertained together for the first time at a reception by the Third District Democratic Women's Club of Louisville, Kentucky, on October 31. The reception was for the victorious candidates in the Democratic primaries of August. "This departure from custom," said the *Courier-Journal*, "is due to the candidacy of W. W. Beckert, Negro, who is running for alderman."

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN: We have just received a copy of an official bulletin signed by Colonel Harry F. Cunningham, assistant chief of staff, Fifth Air Force, dated August 15. "We, the conquerors," it says, "have the obligation to impress our superiority upon the conquered enemy. The enemy is an Oriental. . . . Such a demonstration of superiority requires that the shirtless legions which have driven forward from Moresby to Okinawa must now find their shirts and wear them. . . . The Pacific Ocean must remain, what it now is, an American lake, just as American and just as purely and singly American as—for example—Cayuga Lake in New York, Cass Lake in Minnesota, Great Salt Lake in Utah."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Mr. Baruch Muddies the Waters

BERNARD M. BARUCH occupies a unique position in American public life. He has acted as unofficial adviser to a succession of Presidents, he is a frequent and popular witness before Congressional committees, he is credited with the inspiration or composition of numerous public documents. Washington correspondents have built him up into an almost legendary figure. They find wonderful copy in the economic elder statesman who sits on the bench in Lafayette Park dispensing the wisdom of ripe experience, and whenever he chooses he can be sure of the headlines.

Mr. Baruch, in short, has become a national oracle whose utterances exert a strong influence on public opinion. This is a position of great moral responsibility, and it is surprising therefore to find him dropping into a discussion of inflationary dangers an ill-considered and irrelevant paragraph suggesting that loans to foreign countries should be used as an ideological weapon. In a letter to Representative Albert Gore, written for publication, he declares:

> We must be careful, when we give aid to other countries, that this aid is not used to nationalize their industries against us, to destroy our own competitive system, which, I think, should be preserved. England, Czechoslovakia, France, and other countries are nationalizing or about to nationalize their industries. Russia has totalized herself—one buyer and one seller—and is totalizing all countries coming under her aegis.

What is the purpose of this statement if not to sabotage the financial negotiations with Britain, which at last seem to be nearing a conclusion? Mr. Baruch is saying that Congress should not approve a loan to Britain unless the government of that country abandons its mandate from the electors and agrees not to nationalize any industries without American permission. Obviously neither Britain nor France nor any other sovereign nation is going to accept a loan on such terms. And as Walter Lippmann has already pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune,* the refusal of credit to Socialist governments will not delay but hasten the process of socialization. Without American credit the countries of Western Europe, and Britain in particular, cannot reestablish their international trade on free lines. They will have to systematize their present makeshift barter arrangements and socialize the whole business of exporting and importing.

Britain does not need dollars to buy out its coal operators and nationalize the mines, but it could very well use part of an American credit for reequiping those mines with modern American machinery, a task which has proved beyond the imagination and resources of private enterprise. If credit is denied for that purpose, however, it does not mean that the mines will not be nationalized or that the British government will be unable to secure American machinery for them. What it might mean is that the necessary dollars would be found by barring imports of less essential American goods.

Painful as the idea is to many, America has to face the fact that a large part of the world is now committed to considerable measures of collectivism. If credits are to be given only to simon-pure adherents of private enterprise, the world will have to make do without American financial assistance and America will have to get along without much foreign trade.

I don't think this is really Mr. Baruch's objective, though he does suggest that the United States may not at present have any surplus available for export. For the main theme of his letter to Mr. Gore is the danger of inflation unless full production is rapidly achieved. Since foreigners need dollars to spend on American goods, loans to them add to effective purchasing power at a time when increasing wages and decreased taxes are also exerting an inflationary pressure. There is something in this argument, although Mr. Baruch, I think, has overlooked the deflationary factors which are also present, such as the decline in take-home wages.

What is not in dispute is that the proper cure for inflation is production and more production. Paradoxically, one reason for the delay in its application is fear of *deflation.* Business men apparently don't feel confident that demand will absorb the product of capacity operations and consequently, as I pointed out last week, are attempting to set a wage-price pattern which will safeguard their profits at a good deal less than full production. In these circumstances any assurance of future export markets should prove a boon to those key industries which, once war-time shortages have been made good, can hardly hope to maintain a satisfactory volume on domestic orders alone. However, some attention must be given to present foreign needs in order to attract future foreign custom.

To do Mr. Baruch justice, he has not advocated any embargo on exports. What he proposes is that a national inventory be made to determine how much production must be allocated to the home market in order to avoid inflation, and what would then be available for reconstruction in Europe and Asia. This sounds reasonable enough, but such an inventory cannot be completed in a few weeks as Mr. Baruch suggests. Moreover, as he indicates, it implies a system of priorities necessitating the retention of many government controls and the reimposition of others.

Logically, Mr. Baruch's proposal, therefore, calls for planned distribution and more government interference with business. But logic, or at least consistency, is not Mr. Baruch's strongest point, for immediately after his disapproving aside on foreign collectivism we find him telling Mr. Gore: "We cannot go on depleting our soil and mineral resources as we have in the past seven years without tragic results to our whole economy and national life. A study of our resources and modern scientific methods to replenish them must be undertaken quickly." A sensible observation, although exception might be taken to the suggestion that waste of national resources is a recent development. Actually it has been going on merrily for some three hundred years, and no government has yet found a way to check it without interfering with private enterprise. What do you suggest, Sir Oracle? Can we reconcile conservation with property rights, and if not which should be sacrificed?

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

Montreal, November 12

EVERYONE of us is aware of the rich resources of Canada and the role it has played in this war. First in nickel, first in platinum, first in radium, and the greatest producer of food in the United Nations, Canada, remote from the battlefield, was able to work from 1939 to 1945 without fear of having its war effort interrupted. But one must come here and talk to Canada's leaders and to the man in the street to realize fully how the country's military and industrial contribution to victory has increased the people's confidence in themselves. It is not the irritating arrogance of the *nouveaux riches* or a delusion of grandeur based upon a transitory boom. It is simply a conviction of what Canada can accomplish and of the future that awaits it. I was in Ottawa the day the news came that the Canadian Prime Minister had been invited to attend the Washington conference on the atomic bomb with President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee. Everyone has the feeling that Canada would be better off as one of the lesser great powers than as one of the greater middle powers.

The first to benefit from this rise in international status has been Prime Minister Mackenzie King. His standing in the country is higher today than it was before the war. I would not venture to judge his popularity: it would be difficult to find a man so long in a position of authority in a democratic regime who is less gifted with those qualities that usually draw the masses. His interventions in Parliament are always ponderous, and his voice over the radio is a tiresome monotone. There is nothing stirring or brilliant about his personality. However, during the twenty-five years, except for short periods, that he has governed Canada, he has shown an exceptional capacity to grapple with major crises. Although far from a leftist, he has been drawn into the great socializing current which is spreading through the world as a result of the war. When he was young he was a member of the Fabian Society, and he still carries over from those days a certain progressive nostalgia.

It may be difficult to replace him as Prime Minister; one discerns no great figures about him, although the Member of Parliament for Westmount and present Defense Minister, Douglas Abbott, has gained considerable prestige in the last few months and many people talk of him as the coming man.

The intelligent leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, M. J. Coldwell, entitled his book about political developments in Canada "Left Turn Canada." But as a matter of fact the trend of the country toward the left is rather slow. It will be a long-drawn-out process, and the progressives of Canada are confronted with a hard task. Not that I am allowing myself to be influenced by the results of the recent elections. The twenty-eight C. C. F. members who were returned to Parliament, although less numerous than was expected, form an impressive group; and Coldwell is unquestionably the best speaker in the House. I spent several hours with the C. C. F. delegation at a luncheon which they gave for me, and the discussion was interesting and varied. Their means of publicity are limited; they have, for example, only one daily paper besides several provincial weeklies. The press as a whole is against them, and undoubtedly the C. C. F. is adversely affected by the strong opposition to all forms of nationalization prevailing in the United States. Worse than the warning against all forms of social control emanating from American business is the position taken by most American labor leaders. I heard members of the C. C. F. complain that Green and Murray come to Canada and praise free enterprise. From a Gallup poll taken while I was in Montreal it appeared that the advocates of nationalization were losing ground.

Great hope is placed in the Socialist experiment in the province of Saskatchewan, where a daring and competent Socialist Prime Minister, T. C. Douglas, can, if his plans are successful, provide the C. C. F. with better arguments in support of its program than any words. Last year Saskatchewan was leading all the Canadian provinces in the amount of cash income derived from the sale of farm products. The increase in livestock production was also remarkable.

The Saskatchewan venture is an intelligent and courageous undertaking in every way. Under the supervision of the government qualified scientists are translating into actual industrial and agricultural practice the discoveries of research workers at the university. The labor code is the best on the continent. An educational plan is being carried out which provides an annual equalization grant of $615-000 to be distributed among poorer communities to improve their standards. The new government Department of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation has announced that returned veterans will be settled on farms large enough to be operated profitably. Land has been provided to settle about a thousand returned men immediately. "We cannot wait until we have groups of these men marching down the street and delegations coming here," Mr. Douglas said last February in his speech to the legislature.

After eighteen months of Socialist administration Saskatchewan is today one of the most progressive sections of the American continent. It has come close to its goal of complete socialized health service for everyone. Though the provincial debt was reduced by $13,000,000 in the first year, the slogan of C. M. Fines, the provincial treasurer is: "As long as we are in power we will never balance a budget on poverty and misery." It will be intensely interesting to watch the development of this first modern experiment in socialism in a continent where free enterprise seems so powerfully intrenched.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Pursuit of James

THE QUESTION OF HENRY JAMES: A COLLECTION OF CRITICAL ESSAYS. Edited by F. W. Dupee. Henry Holt and Company. $3.75.

MR. DUPEE might almost have called his admirable selection of twenty-six pieces about James "The Question of Criticism," for surely this intense critical focus from 1880 until today on so richly complicated a subject, employing such a diversity of methods—parody, old-fashioned literary appreciation, textual analysis, Freudian interpretation, the casual essay, the poem of homage—must tell us as much about criticism itself as about its subject. The function of criticism, if we can draw any inferences from this volume, is not to bring in a unanimous verdict or even a clear answer: James is damned by V. L. Parrington and Van Wyck Brooks as a pitiful fugitive from the harsh, bracing reality of America to a European dream world, and is praised by T. S. Eliot and Edna Kenton for improving his native quality and giving it its real chance precisely by his transplantation to Europe; the appraisal of his work ranges from the ferociously contemptuous dismissal of Thomas Beer to the deeply felt reverence of Percy Lubbock; according to Stuart Sherman he is an aesthetic idealist adoring beauty and absolutely nothing else, the most interesting parallel to his later novels being Pater's "Marius the Epicurean," while according to Jacques Barzun he is, with his moral attitude and addiction to violent plots, a writer of melodrama whose allegiance never swerved from Balzac.

Some of these contradictions are so fundamental, such different things are seen, as to suggest that if there is any question of judgment it is the critical eyesight and not James's text that is to be judged; his text seems at times to serve wonderfully like the chart in the oculist's office, which is read not for its contents but for what it reveals about those who read it, and we, the amateurs—who else can do it for us?—must make whatever ultimate professional judgment is now to be made.

Much more than an exploration of the nature of critical vision, valuable as that is, can be had from these contradictions. James himself is in Mr. Dupee's phrase "such a living tissue of contradictions" that he handsomely rewards the play of different minds, so long as they are imaginative, on his text; what are apparently the most irreconcilable differences, such as—to give but one example—those of Stuart Sherman and Mr. Barzun, are sometimes the most profitable. Sherman seems justified in his view by the absolute, because unspoken, assumptions made as to the value of the artist's dedication in James's novels and tales about artists, Mr. Barzun in his by the violence of the stories about worldly greed and passion; the two critics are at first impression so apart because they are in such different worlds of James. But R. P. Blackmur in his exciting piece in this volume bridges the gap between these two Jamesian worlds: in the figure of the literary artist James has a ready-made puppet that can appear very white or very black by the mere mention to the reader of the nobility of the good writer or the flunkeyism of the bad one. "Thus," as Mr. Blackmur shrewdly puts it, "the author of a fiction about an artist has all the advantages of coarse melodrama without losing any of the advantages of high tragedy"—and we are suddenly in the purely aesthetic Paterian realm seen by Mr. Sherman, and there exactly by the method of Balzacian melodrama so brilliantly stressed by Mr. Barzun. (By truncating Mr. Blackmur I have had to omit the beautiful logic of his own demonstration that the later stories of James about the great world are the final fruit of the parables about artists.)

As there is no single answer, there is no single critical method that is the best for getting at James. Methods that would seem to be inappropriate turn out extremely well: Conrad's magnificent "historian of fine consciences" is at once an instance of how much of so large a subject can be "put into the nutshell of a phrase" and of how amazingly right the critic can be who sees in his author only his own image; Frank Moore Colby, for all that he shows that too familiar American phenomenon of a good mind gaily resisting any intensity of creative insight, nevertheless by the very gaiety of his own resistance has sharp intimations of the "guilty" secrets hidden in "darkest James," secrets not unlike those that Edmund Wilson has shaken out of "The Turn of the Screw" by standing it, with the help of Freud, on its head.

James in the end—there was always something of the artful dodger about him—eludes his critics. This is an ineluctable rule of the game, for if he could have been caught at all he would never have been worth their try. He leaves them, however, not empty-handed but loaded down with a wealth of spoil, not the least part of which is the profusion of fine things they have themselves created to aid in their—and our—pursuit of him.

JAMES GROSSMAN

Bronzeville, U. S. A.

BLACK METROPOLIS. By St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

THE Negro has been in America for more than three hundred years, but in all that time we have learned very little about him. Perhaps this is because he is our guilty conscience, the proof of our failure; in order to excuse ourselves we have built around him a legend. We have said that he was ignorant, but denied him adequate educational facilities; that he was a criminal, then segregated him in crowded slums which produced more crime; that he was lazy and shiftless, while shutting him off from all but the most menial jobs; that his family life was irregular, only to hold back from him the human dignity that makes for permanent family relationships. And when, in spite of all this, he managed to fight his way up and out into the main stream of American life

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we told ourselves that he could do this because of an admixture of white blood.

Thus for eighty long years we have been creating what we now know as the Negro problem. In our futile effort to solve it we resemble an ignorant man looking for a patent medicine to cure a disease no one has as yet diagnosed. In need of a blueprint, we are still trying to build a house from the roof down, and each time it crashes to the ground we look at one another in amazement, then begin over again.

Certainly no single book can solve the race question. But "Black Metropolis," a deeply penetrating study of the Negro community in Chicago, is one of the very few books known to this reviewer which shows any real conception of what that problem is—shorn of all the mumbo-jumbo of race relations and the fumbling efforts of the good white folks who want to do right but insist on maintaining the status quo.

In the latter part of Richard Wright's "Native Son" Bigger Thomas is talking to Max, his lawyer: "Really I never wanted to hurt nobody. That's the truth, Mr. Max. I hurt folks 'cause I felt I had to; that's all. They was crowding me too close; they wouldn't give me no room. Lots of times I tried to forget 'em, but I couldn't. They wouldn't let me."

After reading Mr. Drake's and Mr. Cayton's book we know everything there is to know about the background that molded Bigger Thomas. Bronzeville, as the South Side of Chicago is called by Negroes, is perhaps the most typical segregated area in the North. Less sophisticated than Harlem and with more rigid boundaries, it is bursting at the seams from the pressure of 350,000 permanent residents and an influx of transients lured to the North by the promise of better jobs. It is an area of high rents and living costs and a low value on human life. It is a boiler which has too much steam up. Knowing this, we stand by ineffectually, hoping that somehow our witch doctors will mumble the magic words that will allow the steam to escape before the boiler blows up in our faces.

Yet in Bronzeville is hope as well as despair. City workers, professional men, artists—a varied middle-class life we have never suspected—live in this city within a city. Always there is a wall between Bronzeville and the outer world, a wall different only in thickness, as Mr. Wright has so often told us, from similar walls in Memphis or Jackson. That wall is what keeps Negroes from being Americans, and Americans from being free men.

To say that Mr. Drake and Mr. Cayton have created another "Middletown" may seem too facile a comparison, but it is one which is richly deserved. Few communities have ever been put under a more searching or relentless inquiry. "Black Metropolis" is a rare combination of research and synthesis, a book to be deeply pondered. It offers no short cuts or magic solutions, but it contains the clearest picture of what it means to be a Negro in America that I have ever encountered. It is realistic and far-reaching, probing where other books have glossed over, interpreting where others have merely stated generalities. No one who reads it intelligently can ever believe again that our racial dilemma can be solved by pushing buttons, or by gradual processes which may reach four or five hundred years into the future.

The lengthy introduction by Richard Wright deserves a review in itself; it is always germane to the subject, almost a part of the book. It is what the commentary of a documentary film should be. Introduction and book together form the most informative and readable treatment of the malignant racial growth from which America is suffering that I have ever read, not excepting Gunnar Myrdal's monumental "American Dilemma." BUCKLIN MOON

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Sorry Prospect

MONOPOLY IS NOT a satisfactory word for the subject of David Lasser's "Private Monopoly" (Harper, $3), and the author is the first to say so. It will be too bad if readers shy away from it as a too familiar subject, for Lasser has done an excellent job of presenting and documenting the faults of the politico-economic system dominated by big business.

Combinations in restraint of trade are only one manifestation of the business philosophy which looks for profit primarily in the margin between cost and selling price instead of in volume of sales. Small firms are in general even more addicted to that philosophy than large ones. Competition is no skeleton key to all the problems of an economy of abundance.

Lasser has selected and assembled the most significant evidence collected during the last ten years by the Temporary National Economic Committee, the National Resources Planning Board, other Congressional investigations and government departments, and independent economists and reporters. The result is a thoroughly depressing but important picture of the state of the capitalist economy, national and international. The author's proposals for "democratization" as a solution of the problems he presents are well-reasoned and sensible, but he does not leave the reader with too much hope that they can be carried out.

A capitalist economy could be made to work for the general welfare, given sufficient intelligence and good-will, and it has advantages over any other system in terms of democracy and individual freedom. "Private Monopoly" details the faults which must be overcome. It does not give much assurance that they will be. CHARLES E. NOYES

A Living Process

THE LATE CARL L. BECKER was one of the truly wise men of our generation. He was historian, philosopher of history, and political philosopher, whose special interest it was to find a firmer foundation for democratic life and who had come to the significant conclusion that eighteenth-century thought was an inadequate basis for the continued growth of democratic thought and the constant readjustment of the democratic process.

In a posthumously published series of lectures titled "Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life" (Knopf, $2.50) he sums up his conclusions so perfectly that they well might have been the intended summation of his life work. "The nature of freedom and responsibility is such that they cannot be discussed," he declares, "still less dealt with to any good purpose, separately." The eighteenth century had

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equated democracy with the assertion of inalienable rights. Becker shows that the rights and liberties must be exercised with a higher sense of responsibility for the common good; otherwise the community is forced to abrogate them in the interest of justice. "The owners of English cotton mills in the 1830's," he writes, "enjoyed freedom of contract as a cherished liberty; but for the anemic women and children who contracted to work in the mills because the alternative was starvation, it was a species of wage slavery."

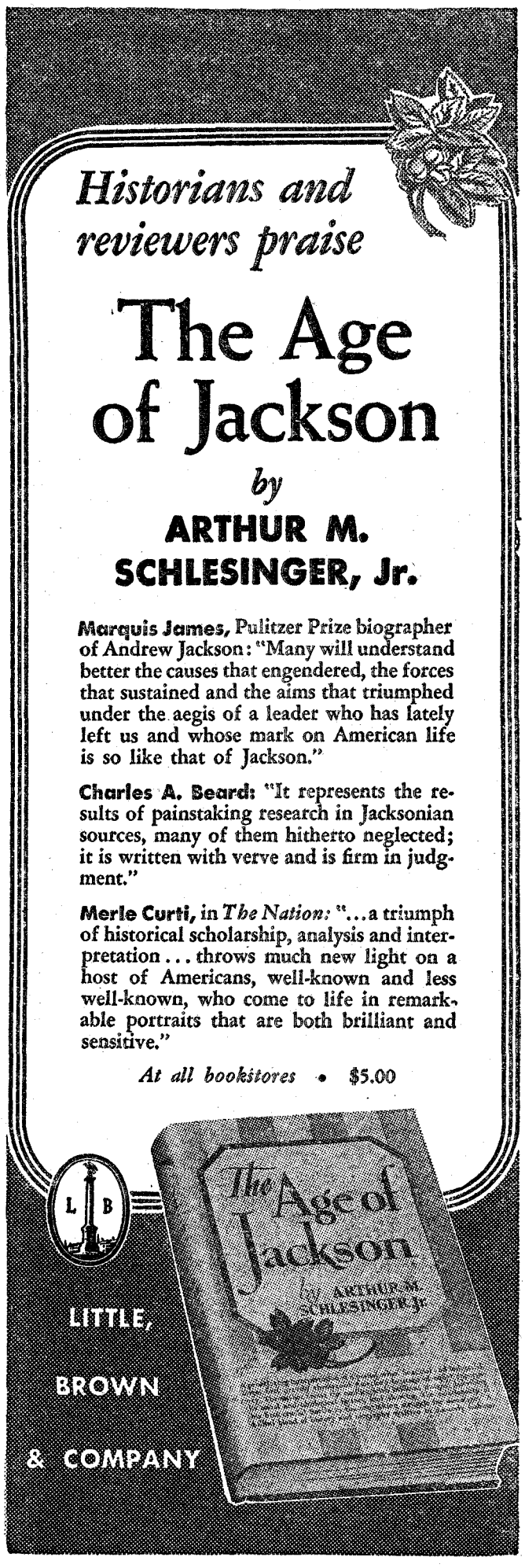
While Becker emphasizes the importance of character in the operation of democracy ("the preservation of our freedom depends less upon the precise nature of our Constitution and laws than upon the character of the people"), he does not belong to the moralists who would solve political issues by moral means only. He is constantly looking for the best possible political instruments for the preservation of both justice and liberty. He is certain that the eighteenth century was wrong in assuming that an unmanaged economy would make for justice, and he nicely debunks the privileged classes of today who use that creed for their own ends. He understands that collectivism finally destroys freedom, but is also certain that there must be increasing control of the economic process in the interest of justice.

He is critical of all uncritical devotion to written constitutions and to cherished forms of the past because he understands that democratic life is a living process which requires constant readjustments to new situations. Becker is in short the kind of guide whose loss one regrets the more deeply in a day in which interested dogmatists speak unctuously of the "American way of life," while they seek to preserve some special privilege or evade some obvious responsibility of their power. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Psychology and Politics

THE SOCIAL REFORMISM of Dr. Samuel Lowy in "New Directions in Psychology" (Emerson, $3) is based on what might be called the "argument from neurosis." His book indicates that a simple concern for the individual personality involves an alienation from contemporary political practice. The study of a number of uprooted persons, for example, convinces him that the forced migration of masses amounts to large-scale spiritual murder. He records, on the basis of his analytic experience in a Slovakian town, that even among persons hostile to Jews in everyday and political life "anti-Semitic sentiments only rarely constitute the content of free association." Anti-Semitism is, in this view, not very deep in the psyche but merely a convenient symbolic expression of repressed hatreds which are produced in family and social situations.

Dr. Lowy's suggestions aim at the elimination of aggressive impulses, the freeing of the personality. Here he is confronted by the polarity that plagues every libertarian movement. How encourage spontaneity in the individual when the only apparent fulcrum of major change in a complex society is the state machinery, the apparatus of authority? Dr. Lowy insists that "men can be forced into such spontaneity," that freedom for adults requires certain inhibitions to be imposed by state force. Herbert Read, who contributes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a rather reluctant introduction to the book, notes that the authoritarian state is itself a projection of masochistic and aggressive neurotic symptoms. He argues that the solution of mass neuroses must be in the direction of "an inner accord between individual morality and spontaneous group activities. . . . The way lies through reciprocity and mutual aid, not through coercion and external authority." Dr. Lowy is "practical," but his means exactly contradict his ends; Read is a "whole-loafer" and his logic pure, but his means are seemingly hopeless. The stalemate of an era.

The sources of Dr. Lowy's thinking are admittedly eclectic; he uses with equal approval Freud, Stekel, Adler, Fromm, Horney, and Mannheim. He is closest, however, to the sociological, anti-instinctivist school represented by the last three, though he has neither the historical grasp of Fromm and Mannheim nor the lucidity of Horney. His style is laborious and repetitious. Sentences that open promisingly too often close on truisms and commonplaces. One suspects, from Dr. Lowy's limited venture, that an analyst less sentimental, more selective and relevant, and happier in style might add a suggestive dimension to political thinking. Considering the state of political life, the psychoanalyst may be better fitted than the practicing politician to diagnose and offer cures for our communal ills.

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China's Basic Problem

FOR YEARS NOW we have been hearing that the basic cause of China's stagnation was its feudal system of land ownership and utilization. But it has been difficult for a Westerner to understand how the traditional agrarian relationship impeded progress. Farm tenancy we understand; but since the proportion of tenancy in China is not much greater than in some of our Middle Western states, it is clear that tenancy alone does not account for China's poverty and backwardness. A detailed picture of a traditional Chinese village with all its economic relationships is necessary before we can grasp the nature of the Chinese problem. Such a picture is provided in a remarkable sociological study of three Yunnan villages by Hsiao-Tung Fei and Chih-I Chang entitled "Earthbound China" (Chicago, $3.75). This readable book, a Chinese rural "Middletown," tears away the veil of Oriental mystery and reveals the traditional Chinese social and economic structure in sordid detail. We are helped to understand the curse of landlordism, for example, when we find that even the petty landlord—the largest landholding in one village was only about four acres—rarely does any work. Since nearly a third of the population of some villages are in the petty-landlord class, the social waste of the system is apparent. Well over half of the families in each of the villages studied either possessed no land or had less land than they needed for self-support. All the villages had more workers than could be effectively used on the amount of land available, and so some of the landless were compelled to seek other means of support. In the traditional village the only other source of income of any importance is handicraft production. As in other countries this is carried on in sweat shops. Near the cities the surplus population is drawn off by emerging industry, but only a fraction of Chinese villagers live near enough to cities to be affected by large-scale industrial development. As the authors point out, China's greatest need is for the development of small local industries, preferably cooperative in character, which can utilize the surplus labor that exists in every village.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

An Economic Survey

PEP (Political and Economic Planning), whose researches in British economic problems are attracting increasing attention, has done well to sponsor a study, "Economic Development in Southeast Europe" (Oxford, $3) by a group of experts drawn from all the countries covered—Poland, Czechoslo-

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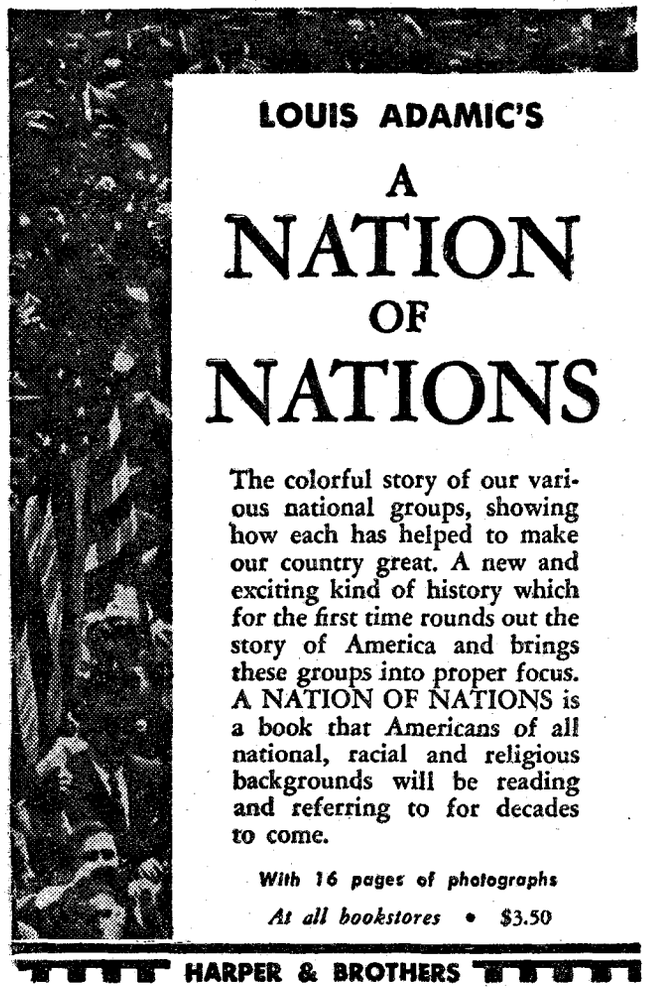
vakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece. By eschewing politics the participants were able to find much common ground in regard to such problems as nutrition, agriculture, industrial development, transport, marketing, and capital needs. Their aim has been to present the known facts—the book contains valuable statistical material—and to make tentative recommendations for projects in which the various countries might cooperate for mutual benefit. K. H.

Behind the German Curtain

"THE CURTAIN FALLS" by Count Folke Bernadotte (Knopf, $2) is an unpretentious, highly interesting account of the last days of the Third Reich, a serious contribution to the inside story of the Nazi collapse. Since the totality of this collapse prevented most of the leading figures from leaving behind their own versions for the use of the historians, Count Bernadotte's contribution is especially valuable. Bernadotte went to Germany as representative of the Swedish Red Cross to obtain the release of Scandinavian prisoners from German concentration camps, and thus obtained the privilege of witnessing the downfall of the Nazi gods from inside the Reich. He did not see everything—Hitler and Goebbels remained hidden to the Swedish observer—but he saw Ribbentrop and Himmler, whose first surrender offer was transmitted through him. Two of Himmler's closest advisers, Kaltenbrunner and Schellenberg, who appear as Himmler's bad and good angel in Bernadotte's account, permitted him startling glimpses behind the falling curtain. The macabre scenes that he reproduces, with their revelation of the triviality and cowardice of the Nazi leaders, make the reader wonder how such petty men could have succeeded in deceiving so many people in so many countries long enough to bring the world so close to the abyss.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN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FICTION IN REVIEW

CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD'S "Prater Violet" (Random House, $2) is not only a very short novel which is yet the most completely novelistic novel I have read in a long time, but also the most charming novel I have read in a long time which yet reverberates with the widest and deepest meanings. Nor are these the only scores on which Mr. Isherwood's new book contradicts the present-day order of literary things and is a lovely achievement. It is a book written in the author's own person, yet utterly without ego; it is a novel about movie writers which is yet a novel about the life of every serious artist; it is a book without a political moral, but a profound moral-political statement; it is gay, witty, sophisticated, but wholly responsible. It is even a novel by a member of that small coterie known as the younger British intellectuals, and yet neither a coterie novel nor a novel nurtured in the shadowy recesses of the worried intellect, but a novel about intelligent, attractive people living familiar, interesting lives.

The story of "Prater Violet" is deceptively slight. The time is 1934, the place London. Isherwood is invited to write the scenario and dialogue for a musical movie of old Vienna, about a flower vendor in love with a disguised prince. The director who has been engaged for the film is a Viennese, Friedrich Bergmann, a man "with the face of a political situation, an epoch . . . the face of Central Europe," and with a Central European sense of political realities. To Isherwood's considerable daze at finding himself writing dialogue for "Prater Violet"—the novel's title is taken from the film—is added the rich confusion of daily intimacy with this collaborator; Bergmann is a person of great human proportions—voluble, weak, vain, robust, deep-feeling, dramatic, amusing, devoted, loving and lovable. In the midst of the shooting of the movie, the newspapers report the Vienna uprisings. Bergmann and Isherwood have their emotions about the fate of Austria, and their emotions about their job. The movie gets finished, it is a great success, and Bergmann gets a contract from Hollywood.

But the story that Mr. Isherwood tells is merely the pebble in the lake, from which his novel ripples out in ever-widening circles of implication. In what we might call its first circle, "Prater Violet" is a novel of narrative and social observation, and light, incisive humor about modern personalities. In its next circle, it is a study in sensitivities—it confronts the sensitive poet with the sensitivities of the movie craft, the sensitive foreigner with British insularity. Then, in a further circle, it is a study in dedication—a very wise insight into the quality of devotion which any job must exact, even the job of making a shoddy movie, if it is to be mean-

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ingful to the person doing it. In a still farther circle, it is a study in the relation of the individual to society, particularly in the relation of the politically conscious man, who is still not a political man, to political action; and it is here, of course, that "Prater Violet" will be most suspect to the liberal reader accustomed to the raising of banners of public allegiance, because Mr. Isherwood refers all conduct back to private sources. Finally, it is a novel about man's relationship to himself—a subtle, bold assertion that life has no need of justification from our usual modern moral values, that human affection is enough to support it.

The word "human" is important. We have been told that Mr. Isherwood has joined the Aldous Huxley-Gerald Heard group of California mystics, and that for some years he has been living a monastic life and working on a translation of the Bhagavad-Gita. Were we not acquainted with these biographical facts, we would not guess them from "Prater Violet," which is a thoroughly worldly book, unless perhaps from its informing emotional tone, which struck me as remarkably innocent of the contemporary social and personal guilts. But totally unlike the culminating principle of, say, Mr. Huxley's recent novels, the life-principle on which Mr. Isherwood takes his quiet stand is accessible to the least mystical of us: it is nowhere made to draw its strength from beyond the naturalistic universe; and, even more important, it is in no way based in negation. Just as I think we can measure the efficacy of Mr. Isherwood's life-principle by the pleasure he gives us with the book which embodies it, I think we can attribute our pleasure in the book to the gusto and liveness with which Mr. Isherwood's characters have their being in this faulty world of ours. For instance, we compare the Bergmann of "Prater Violet," with his poetry-making, his curiosities, his wonderful reenactments of the Reichstag-fire trials, to the analogous father-people in Aldous Huxley's last novels, to discover that the author of Bergmann is not at all concerned, as Mr. Huxley is, to make the father-person a saint. Bergmann is no emasculated savior in the protection of whose love the merely mortal young man plays out his mean sexual game. He is allowed not only his full humanity but his full manhood; and as a consequence Mr. Isherwood's novel has a dignity and an intimation of true tragedy which are always finally missing from Huxley. If, that is, it is out of his knowledge of God that Mr. Isherwood has come to, or confirmed, his knowledge of man, it is still man to whom his novel, in the end, gives godhood.

And, indeed, I suspect that it is to his acceptance of the common humanity of man, to what I see as his worldliness and not to his unworldliness, that Mr. Isherwood even owes the quickness and warmth of his prose. It is very much the fashion these days to write "simply." Mr. Steinbeck does it, Mr. Hersey does it, at another extreme Katherine Anne Porter does it. In the Steinbeck-Hersey tradition simplicity is the passport of social virtue; and while I do not question the good-will of these writers, I question whatever underlies their good-will which produces a prose so heavy with condescension to the people with which it deals. On the other hand, the simplicity of Miss Porter's prose, however skilled and tasteful her prose is, is the simplicity of the over-conscious artist; Miss Porter does not condescend to her subject, but she does assert herself over it. But the simplicity of Mr. Isher-

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wood's style is a reflection neither of condescension nor of assertion. It is the style of a free and generous creative intelligence, most happily balanced between self-tolerance and tolerance of others.

It would be a pleasant comment on our present literary culture if one could be certain "Prater Violet" would get the reading it deserves. Properly, there should be several books as good as this each season; and the publishers of this one, just by the way, should not feel impelled to veer between advertising it as a "satirical" novel and announcing it, on its dust jacket, in terms of "fascist terror," "opportunism and appeasement," and Europe's "bath of blood"; such a distortion of the whole attitude of Mr. Isherwood's book is culturally all too significant. But fearful that it will not reach its audience through the usual channels—one influential critic, for example, has already reported his doubt that it was worth writing—I for once wish to urge a novel on at least the readers of this column. For, small as it is, "Prater Violet" suggests, better than any book of the last three years, the charms and satisfactions which some few of us still ask for from current fiction but which current fiction so persistently refuses us.

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Art

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AFTER the Fauve color explosion there came around 1907-08—when Cézanne replaced Van Gogh and Gauguin as the dominant influence—a gradual sobering of the palettes of the younger avant-garde painters in France. By 1914, when analytical cubism was in full flower, Picasso and Braque were turning out pictures whose color ran no wider gamut than that between black, brown, and gray-white. Matisse was using monumental dark shapes to construct some of his greatest masterpieces; even Chagall's color was relatively somber in this period; while Derain, Vlaminck, and Segonzac were returning the emphasis from hue to value. Those artists who still kept their color high generally lowered its intensity and dulled its finish—with the notable exception of Modigliani. Yet something of the rawness of Fauvism still lingered: an imprecision, a renunciation of crispness of finish and of tangible paint quality. The refinement of cubist and post-cubist painting was not to begin until around 1918, when the discovery and adumbration of that which still constitutes the essential elements of modern style were completed.

There were, however, one or two exceptions besides Modigliani—prominent among them Roger de la Fresnaye, who as soon as he had absorbed all that he wanted or could absorb of Picasso's and Braque's developing cubism proceeded to render it elegant, decorative, and cheerful. It is from De la Fresnaye, one of the secondary figures of the cubist movement, that a good deal of the academicism of post-cubist art takes its departure. He was not the first to put pure, high color into cubism, but he was almost the first to put it in flat, in roughly blocked-out shapes, and one of the first, along with Delaunay, to explore the possibilities of cubism as quasi-abstract decoration.

De la Fresnaye anticipated the softening and prettifying of cubism. Endowed with a feminine sensibility, he was quick to grasp the point of the new style and, in grasping it, to suppress all the struggles and resistances through which it had originally been developed. But even so, he came so early that he could not avoid a certain minimum of struggle. He was in his own way a pioneer, and he had for a time to grope and stumble; he was clumsy, he made errors, and he failed to understand completely what he was doing. The evidences of the struggle are in two big canvases, "The Artillery" and "Conquest of the Air," executed in 1911 and 1913 respectively—the latter was to be seen at a fine show of De la Fresnaye's paintings, drawings, and sculpture at the Buchholz Gallery through November 10—in which cubism is used as a decorative façade rather than as a means of transforming space integrally.

It was in the still life that De la Fresnaye, restricting his data to inanimate, manufactured objects, finally revealed his full powers. Organized around the oppositions of straight lines and relatively exact curves and circles, with clear, fresh color applied so thinly that the white priming of the canvas underneath becomes a tonal ingredient in itself, his paintings of the period 1913-14 achieve in their delicacy one of the early culminations of cubist style. Yet even in these he betrays now and then the still insecure hold he had on the elements of that style. Thus the roll of paper in "Le Diabolo," being presented in accurate perspective and somewhat strongly modeled, jumps out of context and clashes with everything else in the picture; while in the "Still Life with Cylinders" the pasted strips of white paper are arbitrary and their function could just as well have been performed by white paint.

De la Fresnaye was gassed at the front in the First World War and died of the after-effects in 1925, at the age of forty. Whether he had much left to say is doubtful, harsh as it may sound to say so. From 1917 on his work had beat a steady retreat from the positions he intrepidly occupied at the beginning of his career. What was lacking was a surplus of energy above and beyond that embodied in his taste, superlative as that was.

The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of Stuart Davis, whose life work to date is surveyed in a one-man show at the Museum of Modern Art (through February 3). The nature of Davis's gift is startlingly like that of his contemporary and compatriot Alexander Calder, and their careers run closely parallel. Both have made modern art cheerful; both needed a trip to Paris and the absorption of French influence on the scene in order to find themselves; provincials in relation to the School of Paris, both show that eminent capacity of provincials for tasteful adaptation and also the felicity permitted by the un-obsessed mind. The felicity and taste of these two artists is, as a matter of fact, prodigious. Of the fifty paintings in Davis's exhibition, no more than three or four actually fail on their own terms; and I was struck by a similar evenness in Calder's one-man show at the Modern Museum two years ago.

Davis is a natural painter. Two town scenes—"Gloucester Street" and "Gloucester Terrace"—painted in 1916 at the age of twenty-two under the influences of Van Gogh and Gauguin, demonstrate that he had his gift under control almost from the beginning; his chief problem was simply where to direct it. And it is an open question whether anything Davis has painted since then is intrinsically superior to these two canvases, which are original in the same way De la Fresnaye's cubism is original: they generalize and make immediately pleasing what more seminal artists produced at the cost of strain and frequent error.

Davis early came under the influence of cubism, which he, again like De la Fresnaye in the beginning, appropriated as a decorative method at first. By 1928, however, he had painted a full-fledged abstract picture, "Eggbeater No. 3,"

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which helped establish *the* American inflection of post-cubist abstract style for the next ten years. In 1928, also, Davis went to Paris, where he painted a series of street scenes in which two-dimensional calligraphic patterns inclose flat planes in pastel shades. These represent in my opinion the most important work he has yet done. There is no great force behind them, they rely on hints from almost every contemporary member of the School of Paris—yet they are of their kind perfect. And they evoke the time and place in which they were turned out as little else of that period still does—that is, they are period and yet not limited aesthetically by being so. They are exquisite minor art, sufficient unto their moment and without a thing to say to the young artist who comes seeking examples; yet they will remain.

Since 1933 or so Davis's painting has become more and more abstract and at the same time decorative to the point where it is hardly easel-painting any more. He has invented an idiom of his own, influenced as far as I can see by the diagrams of radio-set hookups—a calligraphy of zigzags, circles, and broken curves laid against flat, solid shapes in uniform color. This idiom he manipulates with varying success, one year better, the next year worse, but nothing has yet equaled his work of 1928-29. The moral is the same as in De la Fresnaye's case: taste is not enough for a lifetime of art.

The only salvation I can suggest for artists such as Davis, Calder, and De la Fresnaye is that society give them fixed, exactly defined tasks that require them to fit their cheerfulness and discretion into the general décor of modern life in a systematic way. Let Davis and Calder create an atmosphere in which to move, not solo works of art. There are the examples of Boucher and Fragonard, whose spirit their own resembles.

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BEFORE YOU KNOW IT

Папа кепт кам Papa kept calm

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT WAS saddening to hear the somewhat frayed condition of Maggie Teyte's voice during most of her first Telephone Hour broadcast; and astonishing to hear the lovely voice of the recordings suddenly reappear at the end of the broadcast in "Oft in the Stilly Night." So at her first New York recital: in the opening group by Méhul, Monsigny, Mozart, and Gluck, the voice was painfully worn throughout its range; then she left the stage and returned immediately to sing the Letter from Debussy's "Pelléas et Mélisande" as though with a different voice—one with texture, color, warmth. I thought at first that the difference was due to the low range and declamatory style of this piece and the Debussy songs that followed it; but the improvement continued in the songs of Duparc and Fauré: it was not a young voice, but an old one that preserved an extraordinary amount of its earlier beauty and flexibility, and revealed its age only in an occasional toneless or metallic high note.

What, then, was the explanation? The mere fact of walking off the stage and back? "Yes, precisely that," answered someone who knew from experience. "It isn't until you walk off the stage the first time at a concert that the awful tension of walking on the first time is relaxed; then you are at ease for the rest of the concert." As he spoke I recalled occasions when I had heard Szigeti scrape and scratch his way through the several movements of an opening sonata, then leave the stage and return immediately to play with serenity of style and beauty of tone. And I recalled also some of Caruso's testimony on the subject in letters to his wife.

Those letters, as Diana Trilling said in her review, are extremely moving human documents and fascinating revelations of the behind-the-façade operations of a musician's career. The torment of walking on the stage for a first group is bad enough for a pianist or violinist; but from Caruso we learn that it is even worse for a singer, since the instrument of his performance is so much more immediately affected by his physical and nervous condition, and so much less subject to his control. One of Caruso's most extraordinary letters tells us how a performance of "Marta" in Mexico City began:

I went to the theater in a very bed conditions. There I tried my voice and I was surprised of the lightness. Then I was a little quite with my nervs but the headache were there in bak of my head. The performance beginned and from my dressing room I heard how the first scene goes. Nobody knowed the part. . . . I heard that the soprano and the mezzo makes lots of fault and that makes me nervos because I tought at my duets, terzetti e quartetti. The second scene, the market, beginned and the corus went out of kee and the public show his malcontento in wissly terribly. I went out with the baritono and he beginned with a very wrotten voice . . . I beginning my larghetto and with my surprise my voice were without brillancy but my experience let the public applaude at the end of my solo very much. . . . But I was not satisfied . . .

And how it ended:

There comes the third act were is the romance. Ah, dearie, I dont know where I found such a voice! I never sing that aria so beautifully and there were a demonstration delirante . . . After comes the concertato where I have the famous frase, *Marta a te perdonne Iddio.* I sung such frase with many feelings and intensity, that everybody public and artists cry . . . The emotions were so great in everybody that was explenid as I never sung in my life like that and I communicated to the public all my feeling with a voice over uman . . .

That is something to be considered by the New York critic who once slipped into the seat behind me for the second of an opening group of four Schubert Impromptus at a Schnabel recital, wrote busily during the third, and was gone by the fourth. And by other critics for whom this is standard practice. (But they are fairness itself in comparison

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with the critic who, kept at home by grippe, wrote a review of a Szigeti recital on the basis of his wife's report on the opening sonata.)

To get back to Maggie Teyte: She returned to sing the Letter from "Pelléas" not only with a different voice but with a communicative power that she had not achieved in the preceding songs with the help of a lot of coy pantomimic showmanship. In the songs that followed, which she did seriously and with superb art, there was a considerable amount of dramatic pointing up in the phrasing, which threw the vocal line out of relation with the delicately sensitive piano contexts provided by George Reeves.

This dramatic pointing up produced a strange performance of *Voi che sapete* from "The Marriage of Figaro" at the first Telephone Hour broadcast. The singing was very jerky and staccato, possibly with the idea of conveying the boyish characteristics of Cherubino. If that was the idea, I would say that what Mozart intended to convey about Cherubino is conveyed in the music sung in the normal flowing style in which he undoubtedly intended it to be sung.

Correction: In the seventeenth and eighteenth lines of the sixth paragraph of the record column of November 3 "couple of hundred thousand shellac records" should have read "couple of hundred *or* thousand shellac records."

CONTRIBUTORS

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Not the Jews Alone

Dear Sirs: The Ben-Horin article, Have the Arabs a Case? in *The Nation* of October 20 was an excellent one. The shameful betrayal of the covenant entered into by the British government with the Jewish people is the tragedy of our day.

The cause of Palestine is not merely the cause of the Jews but of every honest liberal. You will serve the cause of America, of humanity, and all decent people everywhere if you will place this article on the desk of every Congressman, every Senator, and every member of Parliament in the English-speaking countries. SAMUEL WOHL

Cincinnati, October 25

Rank-and-File Victory

Dear Sirs: Speaking for a number of longshoremen who have read your editorial Victory for a Racket in the issue of October 27, I wish to thank you. It is encouraging to us who have been swamped in a flood of press lies and misrepresentations to find friends in the field of journalism and opinion who are prepared to state our case honestly and fairly. We wish to express our gratitude to you for pointing out that the real issues in the longshore dispute, the just economic demands and the fight for a free, democratic union government, were all but obscured by "King" Ryan's cries of "red" and "C. I. O.," which were so eagerly seized upon by the press. The frenzy with which the press "went to town" on us can hardly be regarded as anything less than a deliberate attempt to discredit and wreck the Rank and File Committee of the longshoremen.

However, thankful as we are for your fair-minded approach, we do have certain criticisms to make of your editorial. We feel that the general tone, including the title, Victory for a Racket, gives the impression of total defeat of the rank-and-file movement. This is not true. The fact is that the men have already forced Ryan and the shipowners to grant an important demand—two shape-ups a day instead of three. They have also forced arbitration on the other principal demands—limitation of sling loads to 2,240 pounds and 22-man gangs instead of 20. Arbitration in Ryan's hands is dangerous since it is conceived as an attempt to arrive at a settlement of the longshore dispute without consultation with the I. L. A. membership. But the men mean to force an honest presentation of their demands. Such a presentation can only mean victory for the rank and file, not for Ryan's racket.

On September 30 Ryan declared that the demands of the men could not be negotiated. That he was forced to resume negotiations on these very demands is no small victory in itself. The fight for these demands and the fight for a democratic union are not two separate problems. It is precisely in their struggle for better working conditions that the longshoremen shook Ryan's throne. When these economic demands are won, it will be clearer than ever to the men that "King" Ryan, like other despots, must yield to the inexorability of progress.

The longshoremen have won the first round. Whether the men win the rounds to come in their fight depends upon the support you and your readers can offer—not the least of which is financial—as well as on their own efforts. No, not Victory for a Racket, but Victory for the Rank and File.

LEON GOODELMAN, Public Relations, Rank and File Committee

New York, October 31

Bavaria's Catholics

Dear Sirs: In his article What Happened in Bavaria, in *The Nation* of October 20, Saul K. Padover supplies some very valuable information, and of course every liberal must share his evident satisfaction over the forced resignation of the Schäffer government and the appointment of Dr. Wilhelm Högner as Minister President of Bavaria. As Mr. Padover explains, the Bavarian People's Party encouraged Hitler at times in the past—I should like to add, previous to 1924. The party has also committed other political sins, some of them less excusable than the consent, given under duress, to the "empowering law" of 1933, which Mr. Padover cites as the principal incriminating evidence. Moreover, some people from the extreme right wing of the B. V. P. had always had close contacts with the Nazis, which was the main reason why under the Schäffer regime so many Hitlerites could worm their way into the government machinery or pro-

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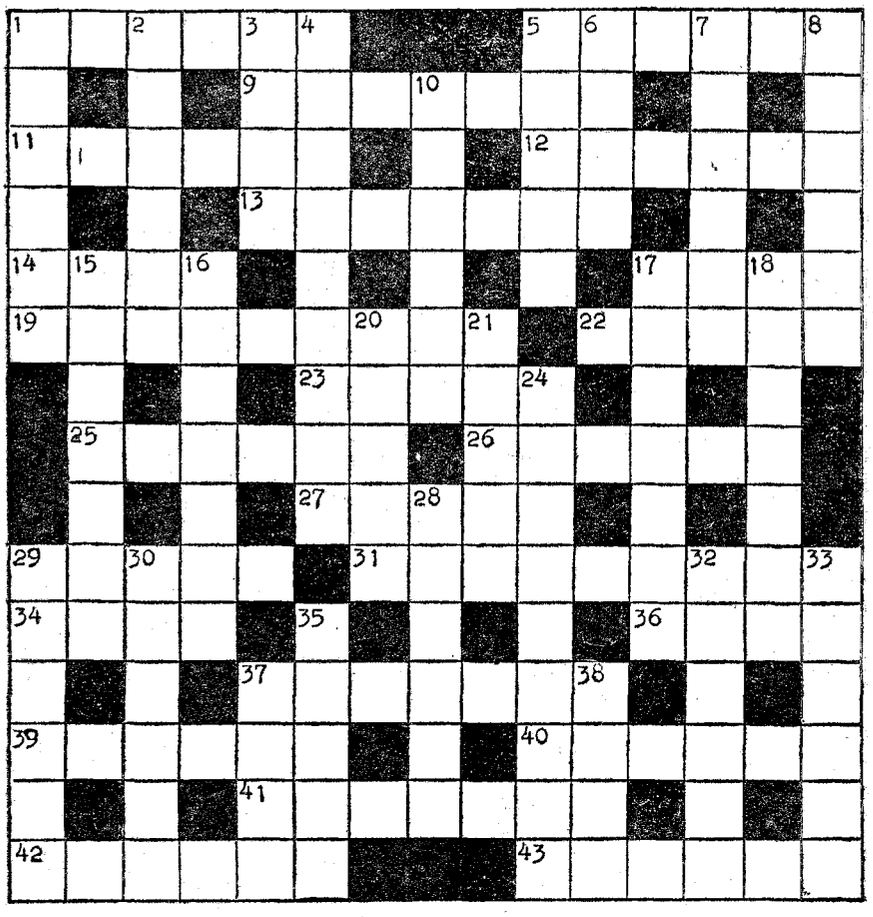
Crossword Puzzle No. 135

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 His Round Table seated 150
5 European capital where they first danced the mazurka
9 Saucy native of China (hyphen, 3-4)
11 Favorable regard
12 Ira and Ted make a speech
13 Painter who superintended the building of St. Peter's, Rome
14 Very French, this
17 The only safe place for a celibate?
19 Art is oral (anag.)
22 Yesterday was recently and tomorrow will be soon
23 What we're all growing
25 Alas, Ma has gone all Oriental
26 Interfere
27 The reason perhaps why demonstrations do not always open harmoniously
29 The newspaperman's beat
31 A person of no importance
34 "'Tis so much to be a king" (hidden)
36 The seer turns out to be Irish
37 The second coat button (two words, 4 & 3)
39 Servant to Aimwell, in *Beaux Stratagem*, and an amusing fellow
40 'Art'ful bird
41 Actually, the animal is brown (two words, 3 & 4)
42 Epic of national life
43 Possesses the world's second best harbor

DOWN

1 Wards off what might be vaster
2 Stagger—and with only one tot!
3 May be sure it's a consumer
4 "There's a long, long trail a-winding"—but this isn't it (two words, 5 & 4)
5 Adam's ale
6 Found in aniline dyes
7 Ascended in a measured way
8 It doesn't sound a very powerful publication
10 Had bee in it, so chop it off
15 Search thoroughly
16 The king of cheeses, though it was never made here
17 Explosive that looks like brown vermicelli
18 Mantles (anag.)
20 I am at the head of fifty men on the Eastern front
21 Fruit first grown in Northern India
24 Turncoats
28 Tied up
29 It's simply an Arabic term for "desert"
30 Grease-gun's less violent relative
32 British general of the Cromwellian period
33 From year to year
35 Being this by a bull might well make you go red
37 Associated with a Peer in the operetta
38 The only answer we could get out of Ryan

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 134

ACROSS:—1 ORGAN-GRINDERS; 10 HECKLER; 11 PASTURE; 12 GRANADA; 13 SMOLDER; 14 NODDLES; 15 ENDURED; 16 ONTARIO; 20 ABADDON; 23 ICEFLOE; 24 TWELFTH; 25 ROOMIER; 26 ORLANDO; 27 ROCKING-HORSES.

DOWN:—2 RICHARD; 3 ALL HAIL; 4 GERMANS; 5 IMPASSE; 6 DISCORD; 7 ROUNDER; 8 THE GONDOLIERS; 9 RED-RIDING-HOOD; 17 TREMOLO; 18 ROLLICK; 19 OVERRAN; 20 ANTIOCH; 21 A DEALER; 22 DEFENSE.

tect themselves from being removed.

But Mr. Padover greatly overstates his case by leaving out the other side of the balance sheet. There has always been a wing of the party which was strongly anti-Nazi, and between 1924 and 1933 this wing was on the whole dominant. One may say much against Cardinal Faulhaber, who is by no means a believer in democracy, but it would be ridiculous to call him a Nazi or a friend of the Nazis; yet Faulhaber has a very strong influence in the Bavarian People's Party. As late as the spring of 1933 the B. V. P. government of the state of Bavaria made a gesture of defiance against Nazified federal government and was deposed by storm troopers; several of the leaders of the B. V. P. had to pay dearly for their resistance.

Many Bavarian priests, almost without exception supporters of the Bavarian People's Party, suffered or died in Hitler's concentration camps. The anti-Hitler revolt which occurred in Munich just before the entry of the American troops seems to have been organized largely by B. V. P. supporters. A party of that record cannot be treated as a "compromised party." No democracy can be built up in Bavaria without the Bavarian People's Party, which still is probably the strongest political group in that state (see Eisenhower's latest report). It was a great mistake to intrust exclusive power to the B. V. P.; it would be equally wrong to deny it a share in the government, except perhaps for a very short "purging" period.

The Bavarian problem epitomizes the great difficulty of dealing with political Catholicism in Europe, because on the one hand Catholicism is a genuine popular force which is often socially progressive, and on the other hand it frequently has indirect—and in some countries direct—ties with fascism. Mr. Padover's failure to distinguish between the essentially democratic and the near-fascist group in the Catholic movement of Bavaria makes his article, in spite of its merits, a poor basis for framing a policy.

CARL LANDAUER

Berkeley, Cal., October 27

Far Eastern Material

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